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INSCRIPTIONS OF EARLY ASSYRIAN RULERS

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The texts of which a translation and discussion are here offered were found by the German excavators¹ at Kalat Sherkat, the site of the ancient city of Ashur, and published in the first part of *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*.² The autograph copies of the inscriptions are the work of the late Leopold Messerschmidt. Extracts from these inscriptions, containing for the most part genealogies and chronological data, appeared from time to time in the *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*³ and have been used by Meyer,⁴ King,⁵ and others in their reconstruction of early Assyrian history. Until some new inscription throws additional light upon the matter, the chronological schemes proposed by these scholars must remain, as they themselves freely admit, largely provisional. It is not the purpose of this article to re-examine matters chronological, but rather to furnish a full translation of the new texts from Ashur on the basis of which the historian will be able to form a better picture than was possible heretofore, of the rise of Assyria and the spread of her influence during the second pre-Christian millennium.

¹ See the reports in *MDOG*, 20f.

² *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur, historischen Inhalts*. Erstes Heft. Owing to the untimely death of Dr. Leopold Messerschmidt who had autographed the texts, the work of seeing them through the press fell to Professor Delitzsch, who added the index and a number of "Verbesserungen und Nachträge."

³ A splendid beginning in the publication of the results of the excavations at Ashur has been made by the excavator Andrae in his *Anu-Adad Tempel*.

⁴ *Geschichte des Altertums*, I, 2, 2d ed.

⁵ *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings*.

Just as in the case of most of the other ancient states, the beginnings of Assyria are, and probably will remain, obscure; for a city like Ashur, the nucleus around which the Assyrian state developed, lying as it does somewhat apart from the scene of the earliest empires on the Euphrates, was hardly likely to attract attention until it had become wealthy or prominent enough to arouse the cupidity or jealousy of some stronger state. The earliest rulers of Ashur whose names have come down to us were Ushpia and Kikia, the former the traditional founder of the temple of Ashur, the latter the builder of the city-wall. The form of these names has suggested to Ungnad⁶ the possibility that the Mitannians, a people related to the Hittites, were the founders of Ashur. However that may be, there can be little doubt that the civilization of Assyria from the earliest times was predominantly Semitic.

In the present state of our knowledge there is room for difference of opinion as to the relative contributions of Sumerians and Semites to the civilization of the Euphrates Valley. No doubt Meyer has cleared the atmosphere by his *Sumerer und Semiten*, but whether the Semites were in the valley as early as the Sumerians, perhaps earlier, as he believes, is by no means certain. The Semites were known as Akkadians, and Ungnad believes that this was surely because Akkad was the first Semitic state in Babylonia. He also suggests the possibility that before Sargon made Akkad the capital city of his empire, the Semites had already formed a state outside the valley, say in Amurru.⁷ In either case it was with the empire of Sargon and his son Naram-Sin (*ca.* 2500 B.C.) that the Semites for the first time gained the supremacy in Babylonia. If we regard the Semites of Sargon's time as the first of the successive migrations of this stock from the desert of Arabia into the Euphrates Valley, we must assume that the earliest Semites of Ashur and the other cities which made up the later Assyrian empire were borne in on this wave of migration, for there existed an Assyrian kingdom before the time of Sumu-abum, the founder of the First Dynasty of Babylon, which represents the dominance of a new wave of Semites, namely, the Amorites.

The first date in Assyrian history is furnished by a catch-line on a late Assyrian tablet containing chronicles of early kings.⁸ It tells of

⁶ BA, VI, 5, p. 13. ⁷ *Sumerer und Akkader*, OLZ, 1908, 62 f. ⁸ King, *op. cit.*, II, 14.

a war between Ilu-shuma king of Assyria and Su-abu (Sumu-abum). The date of Sumu-abum is *ca.* 2050 B.C. (Meyer, 2060–2047; Ungnad, 2232–2219). Our earliest Assyrian inscriptions are those of Irishum (Nos. 1, 2, 3) son of Ilu-shuma. From the first of these we learn the names of the father and grandfather of Ilu-shuma as well—Shalim-ahum and Kate-Ashir. All of these bear the title of *patesi* of the god Ashur (written Ashir in these old texts) but, if this title suggests an overlord to whom they were subject, we have no information as to who he was.⁹ Nor have we any means for determining how long before Irishum's time Ushpia built the temple of Ashur. It is only for the period after Irishum that the inscriptions furnish dates.

According to another (No. 2) of his inscriptions, Irishum built the temple of Adad. This was probably the "temple of Anu and Adad" which Tiglath-pileser I (*ca.* 1175–1100 B.C.) rebuilt sixty years after Ashur-dan and seven hundred and one years after Shamshi-Adad, son of Ishme-Dagan, who was, according to Tiglath-pileser's tradition, its builder.¹⁰

Irishum is best known to his successors as restorer of the temple of Ashur. It is probably to the building of this temple that the first inscription in King's *Annals of the Kings of Assyria* refers. Shalmaneser I (No. 14, Col. III, 32 f.) speaks of the work of his ancestor Irishum (Erishu) as follows: "when Eharsagkurkurra, the temple of my lord Ashur, which Ushpia, priest of Ashur, my ancestor, had built aforetime, had fallen into ruins, then my ancestor Erishu restored it. One hundred and fifty-nine years passed after the reign of Erishu and that temple (again) fell into ruins. Then Shamshi-Adad, priest of Ashur, restored it. Five hundred and eighty years elapsed and that temple which Shamshi-Adad had restored became old and weak," etc. Whereupon Shalmaneser restored it once more. An inscription of Esarhaddon¹¹ has a different chronology. According to this inscription, Erishu, son of Ilu-shuma, restored the temple which Ushpia had built, and one hundred and twenty-six years thereafter Shamshi-Adad, son of Bel-kabi, made some restorations. Four hundred and thirty-four years after Shamshi-Adad, Shalmaneser found it again in need of repairs. We need not hesitate in preferring

⁹ For a discussion of the title see Meyer, *op. cit.*, § 432.

¹⁰ Cylinder Inscription, Col. VII, 60 f.

¹¹ *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*, No. 51. Cf. *MDOG*, 22, 74, and other numbers.

the chronology of Shalmaneser who lived some six hundred years before Esarhaddon, but the task of assigning places to the different Shamshi-Adads known to us presents real difficulties. But before taking up this matter, let us turn to the immediate successors of Irishum.

On some fragments of a late copy of an older inscription of a patesi of Ashur we read of the building of a temple of Erishkigal by Ikunum, son of Erishum (King, *Annals*, xvii, n. 3). This Ikunum is also mentioned in the inscription of Ashir-rim-nishe-shu, son of Ashir-nirari (No. 6): "The wall which Kikia, Ikunum, Shar-ken-kate-Ashir and Ashir-nirari, son of Ishme-Dagan, my ancestors, had built. . . ." Thus we see that Ikunum carried on the work of his father Erishum.

While the date of Ikunum is determined by these references to his activities, that of Shar-ken-kate-Ashir, the next restorer of the city-wall, cannot be fixed.

As we saw above, Esarhaddon mentions a Shamshi-Adad, son of Bel-kabi, as restorer of the temple of Ashur. King¹² has published an inscription of Shamshi-Adad, son of Igur-kapkapu, builder of the temple of Ashur. On the basis of a passage in an inscription of Adad-Nirari IV (812-783 B.C.), in which he claims descent from Bel-kapkapu, it has been suggested that the name Igur-kapkapu should be read Bel-kapkapu. Likewise it has been proposed to identify this Bel-kapkapu with the Bel-kabi of Esarhaddon's inscription.¹³ Until some new inscription throws additional light upon the matter, such guesses must, of course, be taken for what they are worth. The same must be said of Meyer's suggestion that the Shamshi-Adad, son of Bel-kabi, of Esarhaddon's inscription, is the same as the Shamshi-Adad, contemporary of Hammurabi, mentioned on a tablet from Sippar.¹⁴ That Assyria was subject to Babylon under Hammurabi is very probable, but here too the direct evidence is scant.¹⁵

Of Ashir-nirari, son of Ishme-Dagan, mentioned in the inscription of Ashir-rim-nishe-shu, quoted above, as one of the restorers of the city-wall, we possess a brick inscription in which he calls himself builder of the temple of Bel-labira. Tiglath-pileser I (Cyl. Insc.,

¹² *Annals*, 2.

¹³ Meyer, *op. cit.*, § 448.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ In the Code (Harper, 4, 58), Hammurabi speaks of restoring to Ashur its protecting deity (Iamassu), which may point to the establishment of peace after an invasion.

Col. VI, 85 f.) mentions a temple of Bel-labiru, "the elder Bel," which he restored. This was probably the temple which Ashir-nirari had built. We have already referred to the passage in this same inscription of Tiglath-pileser in which he mentions Shamshi-Adad, son of Ishme-Dagan, as restorer (or builder) of the temple of Anu and Adad some seven hundred years before his time. Of the relation between Ashir-nirari, son of Ishme-Dagan, and Shamshi-Adad, son of Ishme-Dagan, if there is any,¹⁶ we know nothing. Tiglath-pileser's date gives us the only clue as to the period in which we are to place Shamshi-Adad, son of Ishme-Dagan, namely, *ca.* 1850 B.C. Adad-nirari II mentions an ancestor Ashur-nirari who had built a palace in Ashur (No. 11, Obv. 33 f.).

In the neighborhood of 1600 B.C. has been placed the date of Shamsi-Adad, the third of that name. In his inscription (No. 5) he calls himself "king of the universe (*šar kiššati*), builder of the temple of Ashur, who devotes his energies to the land between the Tigris and Euphrates" (Col. I, 1 f.). It is unfortunate that he does not mention the name of his father or any other of his immediate predecessors, which might have enabled us to fix his period more definitely. He speaks of royal ancestors whose deeds his own surpassed, but this means little to us. Meyer makes him the exponent of Assyrian supremacy following the Cassite conquest of Babylonia.¹⁷ Another date is suggested by the writer in the footnote.

Following the introductory phrases the inscription continues with a record of the rebuilding of the temple of Enlil, called Eamkurkurra, which is translated "the temple of the lord (wild-ox) of the lands."¹⁸

¹⁶ Meyer, *op. cit.*, § 463A.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, § 464. There is one objection to so late a date which continues to present itself to the writer, namely, the language of the inscription of Shamshi-Adad which reads like an inscription of Hammurabi. The similarity of the language to that of the Code would be apparent at once to anyone who compares the two. At the same time it would doubtless be an easy matter to point out differences. Unfortunately the inscriptions dating from the period between Hammurabi and Agum II (*kakrim*) are few indeed, but a glance at the inscription of the latter will show the difference between the language of Hammurabi's day and that of the Babylon of the middle of the seventeenth century B.C. (Agum's date is *ca.* 1650 B.C.). In the inscription of Shamshi-Adad the mimmatum is used throughout, in the inscription of Agum II only occasionally. May it not be necessary to place Shamshi-Adad about a century and a half earlier, soon after or possibly before the Hittite invasion of Babylonia which brought about the overthrow of the First Dynasty? It is certainly significant that Shamshi-Adad has nothing to say of wars between him and the Cassites, with whom all of the later Assyrian kings were perpetually at war, but that his wars were fought with the peoples to the north and northwest of Assyria. The fact that he considered himself the guardian of the "land between the Tigris and Euphrates" may also point to a date when the Babylonian dynasty was exhausted and when the Cassites had not yet succeeded in establishing themselves in the land.

¹⁸ Cf. p. 169, below.

This temple, according to Col. I, 18 f., had been built by Erishum, son of Ilu-shuma. The doors, we are told, were covered with silver and gold. It is tempting to believe that these may have been the doors which Saushatar, king of Mitanni, took from Ashur some centuries later (*MDOG*, 35, 36).

Of interest is the fixing of the money standard. "When I built the temple of Enlil, my lord, the prices of my city Ashur were as follows: for one shekel of silver, two gur of grain, for one shekel of silver, twenty-five mana of wool, for one shekel of silver, twelve ka of oil, according to the (standard) prices of my city Ashur were bought" (Col. III, 13—Col. IV, 3). With this we may compare a passage in an inscription of Sin-gashid of Uruk (*ca.* 2000 B.C.): "During his reign there shall be bought for one shekel of silver, three gur of grain, twelve mana of wool, ten mana of copper, or thirty ka of oil, according to the prices of the land."¹⁹

"At that time," Shamshi-Adad goes on to say, "the tribute of the kings of Tukrish and the king of the upper country I received in my city Ashur. A great name and a memorial stela I set up in the country of Laban on the shore of the great sea" (Col. IV, 4 f.).

Without denying Assyrian activity in Cappadocia in this period, the writer does not feel able to follow Meyer²⁰ in regarding the "great sea" as the Black Sea. Tukrish may be identical with an Armenian city Tigrish, as Streck²¹ suggests, but it is most probable that the "great sea" is no other than the Mediterranean. Whatever the location of Tukrish—the phrase "and the kings of the upper country" points to the Armenian and Kummuh (Kutmuh) regions—the passage does not exclude the possibility that Shamshi-Adad's campaigns brought him to the Mediterranean. This had been the goal of the great conquerors since Sargon, and perhaps Lugal-zaggisi, as it was of the great successors of Shamshi-Adad. The campaigns of Tiglath-pileser I, Ashur-nasir-pal, and the kings of the later Assyrian empire regularly proceeded along the semi-circular curve from Ashur, Calah or Nineveh, northward into the mountains of the "upper country," Nairi-Urartu, then westward through Kummuh to Musri and the other Hatti-lands, across the Euphrates at Kar-

¹⁹ Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, 223c.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, § 464. See p. 169, below.

²¹ *ZA*, XX, 460.

kamish and thence to the Mediterranean and the Syrian coast. Shamshi-Adad probably followed the same curve.

The next inscription carries us into the middle of the Cassite period. We have referred to this inscription of Ashir-rim-nishe-shu (No. 6) a number of times in connection with the names of earlier Assyrian rulers, Kikia, Ikunum, Shar-ken-kate-Ashir, and Ashir-nirari, son of Ishme-Dagan. Ashir-rim-nishe-shu mentions the names of his father and grandfather, Ashir-nirari and Ashir-rabu. From the "Synchronous History" (Col. I, 12 f.) we learn that Karaindash of Babylonia and Ashir-rim(EN)-nishe-shu of Assyria made a covenant with each other and agreed to respect the boundary. In spite of this synchronism scholars differ by more than a century in the date assigned to these kings. Meyer²² places Ashir-rim-nishe-shu at about 1430 B.C., Ungnad²³ at 1420-1405 B.C., with a question mark, while Schnabel²⁴ assigns him a date *ca.* 1560 B.C. Here again there will be difference of opinion until a new text clears up the situation. But, as Schnabel has seen, it is necessary to place a second Ashir-rim-nishe-shu between Pusur-Ashur and Erba-Adad, for an inscription of Adad-nirari II (No. 10, Obv. 29 f.) mentions the "wall of the new city . . . which Pusur-Ashur . . . had built." Ashur-rim(EN)-nishe-shu is said to have put a casing-wall over it, and, when it had again fallen to ruins, Erba-Adad restored it. That Pusur-Ashur cannot be placed before Ashur-rim-nishe-shu follows from the "Synchronous History," which, immediately after the statement that Karaindash of Babylonia and Ashur-rim(EN)-nishe-shu made a treaty, tells of a similar treaty between Pusur-Ashur of Assyria and Burnaburiash of Babylonia (Col. I, 16 f.).

In addition to his work of building the "wall of the new city," Pusur-Ashur was active in repairing the great wall of Ashur, as we learn from an inscription of Ashir-rim-nishe-shu II (No. 7). This

²² ZA, XX, p. 598.

²³ OLZ, 1908, 11 f.

²⁴ MDVG, 1908, 27. Briefly stated the facts are as follows: (1) From No. 6, we learn the name of Ashir-ri-im-nishe-shu, son of Ashir-nirari, grandson of Ashir-rabu. (2) No. 7 (after Delitzsch) is an inscription of Ashur-EN-nishe-shu, who must have lived after Pusur-Ashur. (3) From No. 10, we have the order Pusur-Ashur, Ashur-EN-nishe-shu, Erba-Adad, Adad-nirari (I). This establishes the fact that Ashur-EN-nishe-shu lived after Pusur-Ashur. But (4) the "Synchronous History" has an Ashur-EN-nishe-shu before Pusur-Ashur. If Ashur-EN-nishe-shu can be read Ashur-rim-nishe-shu, the Ashur-rim-nishe-shu of No. 6 and the Ashur-EN-nishe-shu of the Synchronous History may be the same person, and the Ashur-EN-nishe-shu of Nos. 7 and 10 would be Ashur-rim-nishe-shu II. Otherwise we must distinguish between Ashir-rim-nishe-shu son of Ashir-nirari, Ashur-bel-nishe-shu I (before Pusur-Ashur), and Ashur-bel-nishe-shu II (after Pusur-Ashur).

inscription is to appear in full in the second part of *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur* and we shall then probably know more about the activities of this ruler. It is possible, however, to gather from the fragments already published that the inscription deals mainly with the restorations of the city wall.

Before Erba-Adad, mentioned above, we must place Ashur-nadin-ahe. It is probably this king who is mentioned in the "Broken Obelisk" (Col. V, 4 f.) as builder of a "great terrace facing the north." It was formerly thought that he was the father of Ashur-uballit because of a passage in one of the el-Amarna letters,²⁵ but from a new inscription (No. 8) we learn that he was not the father but only an ancestor of Ashur-uballit, son of Erba-Adad. Whether, as Schnabel²⁶ has suggested, Ashur-nadin-ahe was a contemporary of Thutmose III, or is to be placed much later in the list of Assyrian kings,²⁷ cannot be taken up here.

A new complication arises from a text of Adad-nirari II (No. 10) which seems to speak of another Adad-nirari (I) who must be placed between Erba-Adad and the father of Shalmaneser I. This would make it necessary to distinguish between Ashur-uballit, son of Erba-Adad, and Ashur-uballit, the great grandfather of Adad-nirari II. Ashur-uballit I (No. 8) calls himself as well as his father Erba-Adad and his ancestor Ashur-nadin-ahe, patesi of Ashur, but it does not follow that they were subject to an overlord. It seems to the writer that Winckler, Schnabel, and Weber²⁸ have been entirely too hasty in assigning the dominant position in the politics of Western Asia in the fifteenth pre-Christian century to the Mitannians, but until the texts found at Boghaz-Keui are published no reconstruction of the history of this period should be attempted.

The active part which Ashur-uballit II took in the affairs of Babylonia is known from the "Synchronous History"²⁹ and his letters to the Egyptian Pharaoh.

²⁵ Knudtzon, *El-Amarna-Tafeln*, No. 16, 19.

²⁶ *MDVG*, 1908, 22 f.

²⁷ Ungnad, *loc. cit.*, places him immediately before Erba-Adad and assigns the date 1395-85 B.C.

²⁸ Winckler, *MDG*, 35, Schnabel, *op. cit.*, Weber, 1035 f. of Knudtzon's *El-Amarna-Tafeln*.

²⁹ "In the time of Ashur-uballit, king of Assyria, the Cassites revolted against Karahardash, king of Babylonia, the son of Muballitat-Sherua, the daughter of Ashur-uballit, and slew him, and they raised up Nazi-Bugash, (a Cassite) and a man of lowly birth, to be king over them. (. . .) Ashur-uballit invaded Babylonia in order to take vengeance (for Karahar)dash, (his grandson), and he slew (Naz)i-Bugash, king of

Enlil-nirari, son of Ashur-uballit II and grandfather of Adad-nirari II, is known to us from the inscription of his grandson as "destroyer of the hosts of the Cassites," which shows how chronic was the trouble between the Cassite hordes and the Assyrians. From the "Synchronous History" we learn that Kurigalzu, the younger, invaded Assyria but was defeated by Enlil-nirari and compelled to respect the boundary.³⁰

Arik-den-ilu (which is the correct reading of the name formerly read Pudi-ilu) extended the conquests begun by his father and grandfather. His son Adad-nirari calls him "prefect of Enlil, viceroy of Ashur, conqueror of the lands of Turuki and Nigimti in their totality, together with all of their kings, mountains, and highlands, the territory of the wide-spreading Kutu, the region of the Ahlami, Suti, the Iari and their lands; who enlarged boundary and frontier."³¹ His building activities are known from his own inscriptions.³²

The wars of Adad-nirari II³³ have long been known from his inscription published in IV Rawlinson, 44 f., but the new texts from Ashur furnish much additional information. He refers to himself in all of his inscriptions as "destroyer of the mighty hosts of Cassites, Kutu, Lulumi and Subari." These were his foes to the south, east, north, and west. In the Cassites we probably have the rulers of Babylonia,³⁴ although the Assyrian king may also have come in contact with other Cassite tribes in the mountains to the east of the Tigris. It was probably in these mountains and the regions to the north of Ashur that he met and defeated the Kutu and Lulumi in whom we have the descendants of the Gutu and Lulubi of the times

Babylonia, and he made (Ku)rigalzu the younger, the son of Burna-Buriash, king and seated him upon his father's throne" ("Synchronous History," Col. I, 19 f.). Translation from King, *Annals*, xxiv f.

In his letter to Amenhotep IV (see n. 25) Ashur-uballit informs the Pharaoh that he is building a palace, and suggests that he make a contribution in gold "which is common as dust" in Egypt. He adds, by way of a gentle hint, that when his ancestor Ashurnadin-ahe sent to Egypt for money they sent him twenty talents of gold.

³⁰ Col. I, 29 f. Which shows the ingratitude of these Cassite kings.

³¹ No. 9, Obv. 15 f.

³² King, *Annals*, 3.

³³ The reasons for calling this Adad-nirari the second of that name are discussed below, p. 179.

³⁴ See n. 30, and King, *Annals*, xxxii, from which the following passage from the "Synchronous History" (Col. I, 35 f.) is quoted. "Adad-nirari, king of Assyria, and Nazi-Maraddash, king of Babylonia, fought with one another at Kar-Ishtar of Akarsallu. Adad-nirari defeated Nazi-Maraddash, and he overthrew him, and he captured from him his camp and his priests. Concerning the boundary (they agreed) as follows: they established their boundary from the land of Pilaski, which is on the further side of the Tigris, (from) the city of Arman-Akarsalli as far as Lulume, and thus they divided it."

of Sargon and Naram-Sin.³⁵ The Subari probably included the Aramaean and Mitannian elements to the northwest and west. In the new inscriptions we have a more detailed account of these conquests. We learn for instance that he took the cities to the north and west of Assyria as far as Haran and Karkamish on the Euphrates (No. 11). Furthermore, we see that these conquests were but the continuation of the activities of his father and great-grandfather in these regions. He regularly refers to his great-grandfather Ashur-uballit II as conqueror of the land of Musri, and to his father Arik-den-ilu as conqueror of the land of Commogene (Kummuh, written Kutmuhi in these texts).³⁶ We shall take up these campaigns below in connection with the inscriptions of Adad-nirari's son Shalmaneser. The extent of the building operations of Adad-nirari may be seen from the translations of his inscriptions (Nos. 10-13).

From a passage in the annals of Ashur-nasir-pal³⁷ it had been inferred that Shalmaneser, the son of Adad-nirari, was active in extending the conquests of his ancestors. We are now in a position to follow him in his campaigns. On his accession to the throne, the land of Uruadri revolted (No. 14, Col. I, 26 f.) and Shalmaneser at once set out against it. In three days' time he completed its subjugation. From the names of two of the eight districts mentioned, namely, Himme and Luha, we are able to locate the region of his campaign with considerable accuracy, for Tiglath-pileser mentions these districts as sending aid to the people of "Sugi which is in the land of Kirhi."³⁸ But Kirhi lay in the mountains to the northwest of Ashur in the region later known as Urartu, that is, Armenia. There can be little doubt but that Uruadri is the same as the later Urartu.³⁹

The city of Arina, "a strongly fortified mountain fastness," was next taken and devastated. Shalmaneser scattered stones or salt⁴⁰ upon its site, took some of its earth back to Ashur, and poured it out in the gate of the city as a witness for the days to come of the punishment meted out to rebellious subjects. This may have been the same city before which Thutmose III defeated the "wretched foe of

³⁵ This has been suggested before, and in the case of the Lulumi seems to be raised beyond a doubt by the reading Lulubi instead of the usual Lulumi in the text of Shalmaneser, No. 16, below.

³⁶ See pp. 178, 190, below.

³⁷ Col. I, 102 f. (King, *Annals*, 290).

³⁸ Cyl. Insc., Col. IV, 8 f.

³⁹ See p. 186, below.

⁴⁰ See p. 187, below.

Naharin," in his tenth campaign.⁴¹ However that may be, it is certain that the city soon revived, for Tiglath-pileser found it the center of opposition in his day.⁴²

This campaign brought with it the subjugation of the whole land of Musri. As we saw above, the conquest of Musri was the great achievement of Ashur-uballit II. From the preliminary report of the Boghaz-Keui texts (*MDOG*, 35), it is clear that the Hittite records furnish ample evidence of the aggression of Assyria in the Mitanni country. We learn that Mitanni was divided up between Assyria and Alshe on the death of Tushratta. We are able to date this event with considerable certainty at about 1370 B.C., a date which falls at the close of the reign of Ashur-uballit II. If the identification of the Araina of the inscriptions of Thutmose III and the Arina of the cuneiform texts is correct, it follows that Musri was for a long period a center of Hittite influence.

After the conquest of Musri, Shalmaneser took up the subjugation of Hanigalbat. Here he defeated the armies of Hittites and Aramaeans (Ahلامي) led by Shatuara, whose name is probably Aryan and shows the prominence of this element in the population of these regions.⁴³ Shalmaneser speaks with the pride of an Egyptian Pharaoh of his personal encounter with the king of the enemy. The extent of the region known as Hanigalbat may be seen from Col. III, 1-5, "at that time, from the city of Taidi to the city of Irridi, the whole Kashiari region, to the city of Eluhath, the stronghold of Sudi, the stronghold of Haran as far as Karkamish on the banks of the Euphrates, I captured their cities."

The Kutu, whose numbers we are told were countless as the stars of heaven, next engaged the attention of Shalmaneser. Their tribes were scattered from the border of the land of Uruadri to the land of Kutmuhi, that is, over the region later known as the Nairi country.

Of especial interest is the section (No. 14, Col. IV, 8 f.) dealing with the rebuilding of the temple of Ashur. Upon the stone substructure of the building were placed the foundation deposits in the form of gold, silver, bronze, iron, lead, precious stones, and herbs and upon these were laid the mud-walls of the temple. In the second

⁴¹ Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, §§ 469 f.

⁴² Cyl. Insc., Col. V, 67 f.

⁴³ See references in my article "Some Hittite and Mitannian Personal Names," *AJSL*, XXVI (1910), 101; and *AJSL*, XXVII (1911), 270, n. 8.

part of the ceremony different kinds of oil, wine, honey, and butter were used. From the texts of Sargon we learn that the different metals and stone were in the form of tablets on which the king inscribed his name. When Tukulti-Ninib rebuilt the wall and enlarged the moat of the city he found twenty such inscribed objects deposited at the water level (No. 19). Such deposits call to mind the foundation deposits under the Egyptian temples. Similar deposits were discovered by Hogarth in the basis of the cult statue of the archaic Artemision of Ephesus.⁴⁴

The texts from Ashur bear out the statements of the "Synchronous History" with reference to the activities of Tukulti-Ninib.⁴⁵ The introduction of the account of the rebuilding of the palace at Ashur, which his father Shalmaneser had built (No. 18, 1 f.), gives a résumé of his conquests which extended to the lands of the Ukumani, Kurti, Kutmuhi, Nairi, and others to the north and west. Unfortunately the lines telling of his conquest of Sumer and Akkad are too illegible to afford a detailed picture of the events of this campaign.

Of interest is the title "Sun of all peoples," which appears for the first time in an Assyrian historical inscription (No. 19, 2). It is found a number of times in the later inscriptions—in those of Ashurnasir-pal, and Shalmaneser.⁴⁶ As is well known, this is the ordinary title given to the Egyptian Pharaoh in the el-Amarna Letters and the Boghaz Keui texts show that it was also applied to the Hittite kings.⁴⁷ It is possible that this title was borrowed by the Assyrian kings from the Hittites whom they were gradually conquering or pushing out of southern Asia Minor.

As we know from the "Synchronous History," Tukulti-Ninib ruled Babylonia seven years, after which he was slain in an uprising of the nobles of Assyria, who set his son Ashurnasir-pal upon the throne. With Tukulti-Ninib the early history of Assyria comes to an end.

Kikia (traditional builder of the city wall of Ashur)

*

Ushpia (traditional founder of the temple of Ashur)

*

Kate-Ashir

Shalim-ahum, s of,

⁴⁴ D. G. Hogarth, *Excavations at Ephesus*, 238.

⁴⁵ Col. IV, 7 f.

⁴⁶ See Delitzsch, *HWB*, under š a m š u, and *KAA*, 77, Obv. 4. ⁴⁷ *MDOG*, No. 35, 32.

Ilu-shuma, s of, contemporary of Sumu-abum (*ca.* 2050 B.C.)

Irishum, s of,

Ikunum, s of,

*

? Shar-kenkate-Ashir

*

Bel-kabi

[Irishum)

Shamshi-Adad, s of, (according to Esarhaddon, 126 years after

*

[ceding?)

Shamshi-Adad, contemporary of Hammurabi, (same as pre-

*

Ishme-Dagan

[(*ca.* 1150 B.C.)

Shamshi-Adad, s of, *ca.* 1850 B.C., 701 years before Tiglath-pileser

*

Ishme-Dagan (II)

Ashir-nirari, s of,

*

Shamshi-Adad (III), *ca.* 1600 B.C. (but see n. 17, p. 157)

*

Ashir-rabu I

Ashir-nirari, s of,

[p. 159).

Ashir-rim-nishe-shu, s of, contemporary of Karaindash? (See

*

Pusur-Ashir, contemporary of Burnaburiash

*

Ashir-rim(EN)-nishe-shu (II)

*

Ashur-nadin-ahe

*

Erba-Adad

Ashur-uballit I, s of,

*

Adad-nirari I (see No. 10)

*

Ashur-uballit II, contemporary of Amenhotep IV of Egypt,
Burnaburiash and successors, of Babylonia

Enlil-nirari, s of, contemporary of Kurigalzu, the younger

Arik-den-ilu, s of,

Adad-nirari, s of, contemporary of Nazi-maraddash

Shalmaneser I, s of,

Tukulti-Ninib I, s of, conqueror of Babylonia

IRISHUM

No. 1 (KAA, 1)

1. I-ri-š[um] 2. pa-te-si 3. A-šir-ma 4. mâr Ilu-šu-ma 5. pa-te-si 6. A-šir-m[a] 7. [Ilu]-šu-ma 8. [mâr] Ša-lim-aḥum(?) 9. pa-te-si 10. A-šir-ma 11. Ša-lim-a-ḥu-um 12. mâr Ka-te-[^dAšir] 13. pa-t[e-si A-šir]

No. 2 (KAA, 60)

1. I-ri-šum 2. pa-te-si 3. ^dA-šir 4. mâr Ilu-šu-ma 5. pa-te-si 6. ^dA-šir 7. a-na ba-la-ṭi(m)-šu 8. u ba-la-aṭ 9. a-li-šu 10. bît ^dAdad 11. gi-me-ir-ḍu-šu 12. i-bu-uš 13. u ^{iṣ}ḍalâti^{p1} 14. iṣ-ku-un

No. 3 (KAA, 61)

1. I-ri-šum 2. pa-te-si 3. A-šir 4. mâr Ilu-šu-ma 5. pa-te-si 6. A-šir 7. a-na A-šir 8. be-li-šu 9. a-na ba-la-ṭi-šu 10. u ba-la-aṭ 11. a-li-šu 12. nit(?)-ti 13. gi-me-ir-ti 14. [i-bu-uš]

No. 1. For the order Kate-Ašir, Šalim-aḥum, Ilu-shuma, Irishum, see *MDOG*, No. 26, 54 f.

ASHIR-NIRARI

No. 4 (KAA, 62)

1. ^dA-šir-ni-ra-ri 2. pa-te-si ^dA-šir 3. mâr Iṣ-me-^dDa-gan 4. pa-te-si ^dA-šir 5. ba-ni bît ^dBêl-labira

SHAMSHI-ADAD III

No. 5 (KAA, 2)

Obv. Col. I. 1. ^dŠam-ši-^dAdad 2. šar kiššati 3. ba-ni bît 4. ^dAšur 5. [m]u-uš-te-im-ḳi 6. ma-tim 7. bi-ri-it ^{nâr}u^uDiḳlatim 8. u ^{nâr}u^uPurâtim 9. i-na ki-bi-it 10. ^dAšur 11. ra-i-mi-šu 12. ša Anu u ^dEn-[lil] 13. [i]-na šarrâni^{p1} 14. [a]-li-ku-ut 15. [maḥ]-ra 16. [šum-šu] a-na ra-bi-e-tim 17. [ib]-bu-u 18. [bît^d] En-lil 19. [ša E]-ri-šum 20. [mâr

Col. I. 4. Ašur, written ^dA-USAR throughout this inscription.

L. 5. The first two signs, although rubbed, are evidently mu and uš. While the known verbal forms of the root **פנח** have the meaning "to pray, be a suppliant," it seems probable that the form here used is to be regarded

IRISHUM (*ca.* 2000 B.C.)

No. 1

1. Irishum, 2. patesi 3. of Ashur, 4. son of Ilu-shuma, 5. patesi 6. of Ashur. 7. Ilu-shuma, 8. son of Shalim-ahum, 9. patesi 10. of Ashur. 11. Shalim-ahum, 12. son of Kate-Ashir, 13. patesi of Ashur.

No. 2

1. Irishum, 2. patesi of 3. Ashur, 4. son of Ilu-shuma, 5. patesi 6. of Ashur; 7. for his life 8. and the life of 9. his city, 10. the temple of Adad 11. in its totality, 12. he built, 13. and set up its doors.

No. 3

1. Irishum, 2. patesi 3. of Ashur, 4. son of Ilu-shuma, 5. patesi of 6. Ashur; 7. for Ashur 8. his lord, 9. for his life 10. and the life of 11. his city, 12. ————— 13. all of it, 14. he built.

No. 2. 9. This shows that ll. 9 f. of the inscription of Irishum, published by King, *Annals*, No. 1, is to be read *ana balâtišu u a-li-šu* (not *a-pil-šu*).

L. 11. For *ana gimirtišu*? Cf. following.

ASHIR-NIRARI I (*ca.* 1800 B.C.)

No. 4

1. Ashir-nirari, 2. patesi of Ashur, 3. son of Ishme-Dagan, 4. patesi of Ashur, 5. builder of the temple of the elder Bel.

SHAMSHI-ADAD (III? *ca.* 1600 B.C.)

No. 5

Oby. Col. I. 1. Shamshi-Adad, 2. king of the universe, 3. builder of the temple of 4. Ashur; 5. who devotes his energies to 6. the land 7. between the Tigris 8. and the Euphrates. 9. At the command 10. of Ashur 11. who loves him, 12. whose name Anu and Enlil, 13. among (i.e., above) the kings 14. who had gone 15. before, 16-17. had named for great (deeds): 18. the

as a denominative (in the causative-reflexive) of *em û ku*, and may be translated "who devotes his energies, powers to."

L. 12. *Anu*, written with the *ilu*-sign only.

L. 16. *Ana rabîtim*, for a great (thing). The usual expressions are: *ana bêlût mâtâti*, *ana rê'ût mâti*, and the like.

Ilu]-šum-ma 21. [i-b]u-šu 22. [e-na]-aḥ-ma 23. [pi-ti]-iḫ-šu-ma Col. II. 1. bît ^dEn-lil 2. be-li-ia 3. parakkam ra-aš-ba-am 4. wa-ad-ma-nam 5. ra-bi-e-im 6. šu-ba-at ^dEn-lil 7. be-li-ia 8. ša i-na ši-bi-ir 9. ne-[me-iḫ] 10. i-ti-nu-tim 11. šu-te-iṣ-[šir] 12. i-na ki-ri-ib 13. Ašur^{ki} a-[li-ia] 14. bîtam i^{ṣu}[erinam] 15. u-ša-l[i-lu] 16. i-na bâbâtim^{pl} 17. i^{ṣu}dalât^{pl} i^{ṣu}erinim 18. ša mul-ši-na kaspum ḥurâšum 19. uš-zi-iz 20. i-ga-ra-[te] bîtim 21. i-na kaspim ḥurâšim 22. ^{abnu}uknîm ^{abnu}sândim 23. šaman erinim šamnîm rêštîm Col. III. 1. dišpim u ḥimê[tim] 2. ši-la-ra-am a-ši-il 3. bît ^dEn-lil 4. be-li-ia 5. uš-te-iṣ-bi-ma 6. E-am-kur-kur-ra 7. bîrî-im ma-ta-a-tim 8. bît ^dEn-lil 9. be-li-ia 10. i-na ki-ri-ib a-li-ia 11. Ašur^{ki} 12. šum-šu a-ab-bi 13. i-nu-ma bît ^dEn-lil 14. be-li-ia 15. e-bu-šu 16. maḥîr a-li-ia 17. Ašur^{ki} 18. a-na 1 šiḫil kaspim 19. 2 gur šeim 20. a-na 1 šiḫil kaspim 21. 25 ma-na šipâtîm 22. a-na 1 šiḫil kaspim 23. 12 ka šamnîm Col. IV. 1. i-na maḥîr a-li-ia 2. Ašur^{ki} 3. lu-u iṣ-ša-am 4. i-nu-mi-šu 5.

L. 23. The restoration of the first two signs is conjectural. On the other hand the restorations in lines 16 to 22 are based on parallel texts (cf. p. 73 of KAA).

Col. II. L. 4. This form shows that the word *admânu* is derived from a root 𒀭𒌷𒍪 not 𒀭𒌷𒍪. Cf. the forms *wardum*, *warku*, etc., in the Code of Hammurabi.

L. 9. The second sign is *me* (cf. KAA, p. 73). The last is conjectural, but the traces point to *iḫ*, as does the context.

L. 10. *Itinûtim*, abstract (?) noun from a root *adânu* or the like. Cf. Brunnow 9117 (= II R. 58. 59b), where the god DIM is equated with the god Ea *ša i-din-ni*. Ea, as NU-DIM-MUD, is called *ša nabnîti*, that is (god) of creation (IIR 58. 54). The sign DIM has the value *banû*, to build, and in view of the forms quoted it seems reasonable to infer that it also had a value *adânu* with a similar meaning. For the whole passage compare the expression in Sennacherib, Prism, VI, 54f., *ina šipir amêl dim-gallê mûšab bêlûtia ušêpiš*. Esarhaddon built the foundation of the temple of Marduk according to the teaching of NU-DIM-MUT, *uššêšu ušaḫiza* ^dNU-DIM-MUT *aršip*, BA, III, 248, ll. 26f. [See also Landsberger's note in ZA, XXV, 384f., which reached me after my article was in type.]

L. 11. Permansive III₂ of 𒀭𒌷𒍪.

temple of Enlil, 19. which Erishum 20. son of Ilushuma 21. had built, 22-23. and whose structure had fallen to ruins: Col. II. 1. the temple of Enlil 2. my lord, 3. a magnificent shrine, 4-5. a spacious abode, 6. the dwelling of Enlil 7. my lord, 8. which, according to the plan 9. of wise 10. architects (?) 11. had been planned, 12-13. in my city Ashur, 14-15. (that) temple I roofed with cedars; 16-19. in the entrances I placed doors of cedar, covered with gold and silver. 20—Col. III. 2. The walls of (that) temple—upon silver, gold, lapislazuli, sându-stone, cedar-oil, choice oil, honey and butter I laid the mud-walls. 3. The temple of Enlil 4. my lord, 5. I enclosed (with a wall), and 6. Eamkurkurra, 7. “the temple of the wild-ox of the lands,” 8. the temple of Enlil 9. my lord, 10-11. in my city Ashur, 12. I called its name. 13-15. When I built the temple of my lord Enlil, 16-17. the (standard) price(s) in my city Ashur (were as follows): 18-19. For one shekel of silver, two gur of grain, 20-21. for one shekel of silver, twenty-five mana of wool, 22-23. for one shekel of silver, twelve ka of oil, Col. IV. 1-3. according to the (standard) price(s) of my city Ashur, were bought. 4. At that time, 5. the tribute of the

L. 14. The *erinam* is conjectural, but seems to be the reading demanded by the context. Such expressions as “beams of cedar, etc., *elišu ušalil*, *erinum šulûlišu*, *ana šulûli . . . ušatriš*,” are common in the building inscriptions. If the restoration suggested is correct, the expression here used is parallel to these, differing only in the syntactical arrangement of the words.

L. 15. Last two signs partly conjectural.

L. 18. Cf. the usual expressions for the covering of doors: *dalâte erini taḥlubti siparri*, *iḥiz kaspi ḥurâši u taḥlubti siparri*, *mêsir kaspi u siparri*. *Mul* probably has a similar meaning. To be derived from לֹוּה (lamû, lawû)? Cf. Heb. לֹוּהָ.

Ll. 20f. Cf. Shalmaneser, No. 14, Col. IV, 23f.

Col. III. L. 5. III₂ of צבא, which, according to S^c 39, 40, has same meaning as lamû.

Ll. 6f. Cf. the common custom of translating the Sumerian names of the temples in the neo-Babylonian period.

Col. IV. L. 6. Cf. *Turuḫi* of the inscriptions of Adad-nirari, Nos. 8f., of which *Tuḫriš* may be an earlier form.

L. 15. *Labân*, hardly, as Streck (*ZA*, XX, 460) suggests, the same as *Labanada* of the Cappadocian tablets. In the same place he suggests the

bi-la-at šarrânim^{pl} 6. ša Tu-uḫ-ri-iš^{ki} 7. u šar ma-a-tim 8. e-li-tim 9. i-na ki-ri-ib a-li-ia 10. Ašur^{ki} 11. lu am-ta-ḫa-ar 12. šu-mi ra-bi-e-im 13. u na-ri-ia 14. i-na ma-a-at 15. La-ab-a-an^{ki} 16. i-na a-aḫ tâmtim 17. ra-bi-i-tim 18. lu-u aš-ku-un 19. i-nu-ma bîtum i-na-ḫu-ma 20. ma-am-ma-an 21. i-na šarrânim^{pl} 22. ma-ri-ia Col. V. 1. ša bîtam u-ud-da-šu 2. te-im-me-ni-ia 3. u na-ri-e-ia 4. šamnam li-ib-šu-uš 5. ni-ḫi-a-am li-iḫ-ḫi-ma 6. a-na aš-ri-šu-nu 7. li-te-ir-šu-nu-ti 8. ša te-im-me-ni-ia 9. u na-ri-e-ia 10. šamnam la i-pa-aš-ša-šu 11. ni-ḫi-a-am la i-na-aḫ-ḫu-ma 12. a-na aš-ri-šu-nu 13. la u-ta-ar-ru-šu-nu-ti 14. u-duš(?) -ma na-ri-e-ia 15. u-na-ak-ka-ru-u-ma 16. šu-mi u-ša-za-ku-ma 17. šum-šu i-ša-aṭ-ṭa-ru 18. i-na e-bi-ri-im 19. i-ḫi-bi-ru 20. a-na me-e 21. i-na-ad-du-u 22. šarrum ša-a-ti Col. VI. 1. [^dEn-lil u] ^dAdad 2. . . . ma-a-tim 3. . . . šu 4. -ku-tu 5. [i-na] pa-an šarrim 6. [na]-ki-ri-šu 7. . . -aš] u um-ma-na-tu-šu 8. . . -a] i-ib-ri-ḫu 9. ^dNergal 10. i-na ka-aš-ka-ši-im 11. i-ši-it-ta-šu 12. u i-ši-it-ti ma-ti-šu 13. li-ir-ta-ad-di 14. [^dIstar ilat kabli] 15. [be]-li-it ta-ḫa-zi-im 16. ^{iṣu}kakka-šu u ^{iṣu}kak 17. um-ma-na-ti-šu 18. li-iš-bi-ir 19. ^dSin ilum tal-lim-ia 20. [lu-u]-ra-bí (?) 21. li-mu-ti-šu 22. a-na da-ri-e-tim

identity of Tigriš in Urartu and Tuḫriš. Whether this name is to be connected with Lebanon, or Laban, or not, it seems better to regard the "great sea" as the Mediterranean, rather than the Black Sea (Meyer, *op. cit.*, § 593), for which the name "upper sea" would have been more fitting. Tiglath-pileser I, Cyl. Insc., Col. IV, 96f., uses the term "upper sea," tâmtim elinîti, for the sea of the Nairi region, while in Col. VI, 43f., the upper sea of the west (ša šalâmu Šamši) is located in the Hatti country. Certainly in the later inscriptions the term "great sea" usually refers to the Mediterranean. As a rule the context gives the clue as to which region is referred to. In the rock inscription of Sebeneh Su, III R. 4, No. 6, Tiglath-pileser distinguishes between the great sea of the land of Amurru and the sea of the land of Nairi. The determinative ki shows that Labân was a city.

kings of 6. Tukrish 7-8. and of the king of the upper country 9-11. I received in my city Ashur. 12. A great name 13. and a (lit. my) memorial stela 14-18. I set up in the country of Labân on the shore of the great sea (the Mediterranean). 19. When that temple shall have fallen to decay, and 20-22. one of the kings of my line (lit. someone among the kings, my sons) Col. V. 1. shall restore it, 2-4. let him anoint my foundation-cylinder and my memorial-stela with oil, 5-7. let him pour out libations upon them and return them to their places. 8-10. Whoever does not anoint my foundation-cylinder and memorial-stela with oil, 11-13. does not pour libations upon them and does not restore them to their places, 14-15. but shall rebuild the temple (?) and shall alter my memorial stela, 16. shall blot out my name 17. and inscribe his own name (upon it), 18-19. or shall cover it with earth, 20-21. or throw it into the water: that king, Col. VI. 1. (may Enlil and) Adad 2. land 3. . . . his . . 4. 5. before (?) a king 6. who is his enemy (?) 7. . . and his forces 8. strike with lightning. 9-13. May Nergal in violence bring about his destruction and the destruction of his land. 14. (May Ishtar, goddess of battle, 15. mistress of war) 16-18. shatter his arms and the arms of his hosts. 19-22. May Sin, my patron, increase (?) his evil for all time to come.

Col. V. 16. Cf. the common *usazakûni* in the older texts, Thureau-Dangin, *SAKI*, 163, 164, 167, 171, 181, and *ušazik* in the Code of Hammurabi (Harper, under *nazâku*). The form in the later texts is *ušamsaku* (Delitzsch, *HWB*, *masâku*). It is interesting to note the parallels between the curses of this and the later Assyrian inscriptions and those in the epilogue to the Code. They had probably become stereotyped long before Hammurabi's day.

Col. VI. 1-8, badly rubbed.

Ll. 14-15. The restoration of the first line is conjectural, but based on the probable reading of the following line.

L. 19. Tallimia, companion, here patron, cf. Arabic *weli*.

ASHIR-RIM-NISHE-SHU I

No. 6 (*KAA*, 63)

1. ^mA-šir-ri-im-ni-še-šu. 2. pa-te-si ^dA-šir 3. mâr ^dA-šir-ni-ra-ri 4. pa-te-si ^dA-šir mâr ^dA-šir-rabû 5. pa-te-si dûru ša ^mKi-ki-a ^mI-ku-nu-um 6. ^mŠar-ki-en-ka-te-^dA-šir 7. ^dA-šir-ni-ra-ri mâr Iš-me-^dDa-gan 8. ab-ba-ia u-ub-bi-šu-ni e-na-aḥ-ma 9. a-na ba-la-ṭi-ia u ša-la-am ali-ia 10. iš-tu uš-še-šu a-di ša-ap-ti-šu 11. e-bu-uš u zi-ga-ti-šu a-na aš-ri-si-na 12. u-te-ir ru-ba-u ur-ki-u 13. e-nu-ma dûru šu-tu e-nu-ḥu-ma 14. e-ib-bu-šu ^dA-šir u ^dAdad 15. ik-ri-bi-šu i-ša-mi-u-šu 16. zi-ga-ti-šu a-na aš-ri-si-na 17. lu-te-ir.

L. 9. Cf. the expression ana balâṭišu u balâṭ ališu in the inscriptions of Irishum (Nos. 2 and 3).

L. 10. Šaptu, coping, cf. šapat būri.

ASHIR-RIM-NISHE-SHU II

No. 7 (*KAA*, 58)

1. . . A-šir-ma a-na . . 2. . . li-šu dûru rabû . . 3. . . ^mPu-su-ur-^dA-šir . . 4. . . . dûru šu-a-tu dûru e-bu-šu 5. . . dûru rabû ša lib-bi a-lim ḳa-du nâri 6. . . . u-la-ab-bi-is-su 7. -du ša-ap-ti-šu e-bu-uš 8. aš-ku-un ru-bu-u ur-ki-u 9. e-nu-ḥu-ma e-ib-bu-šu 10. ^dAdad ik-ri-bi-šu 11. zi-ig-ga-ti 12. lu-te-ir.

ASHUR-UBALLIT I

No. 8 (*KAA*, 64)

1. ^mA-šur-uballiṭ 2. pa-te-si ^dA-šur 3. mâr Erba-^dAdad 4. pa-te-[si] ^dA-šur-ma 5. e-nu-ma ^dA-šur be-li 6. Pa-at-ti-duḥ-di 7. a-bi-la-at ḥegalli 8. u nuḥsu 9. a-na e-pi-ši lu id(?) -di(?) -na 10. būru ša U-bal-iṭ-še-šu šum-ša 11. ša ia-a-ar-ḥi-ša ku-tal(?) tam-li-e 12. 10 i-na am-me-ti 13. šu-pu-ul-ša a-di me-e 14. ša i-na pa-na 15. ^mA-šur-na-din-a-ḥi 16. pa-te-si ^dA-šur 17. iḥ-ru-ši

L. 6. Ashur-nasir-pal, in his rebuilding of Calah, dug a Pattiḥegalli canal, beginning at the Upper Zab. (*Annals*, Col. III, 135).

ASHIR-RIM-NISHE-SHU I (*ca.* 1450 B.C. ?)

No. 6

1. Ashir-rim-nishe-shu, 2. patesi of Ashur, 3. son of Ashir-nirari, 4. patesi of Ashur, son of Ashir-rabu, 5. patesi. The wall which Kikia, Ikunum, 6. Shar-ken-kate-Ashir, 7. Ashir-nirari, son of Ishme-Dagan, 8. my ancestors, had built, had fallen to ruins and 9. for my life and the safety of my city, 10. from its foundation to its coping, 11. I rebuilt it and returned its phallic cylinders to their places. 12. May some future prince, 13. when that wall shall have fallen to ruins, 14. restore it. Ashur and Adad 15. will hear his prayers. 16. His phallic cylinders let him return to their places.

L. 11. For a discussion of the word *zigâti* (*ziḫâti*) see *MDOG*, No. 32, 25n. In No. 22. 26, there is published an illustration of a clay phallus, which seems to have been the original of the "cones" of the earlier period (Gudea, etc.), as well as of the barrel-shaped *temena* of later times.

ASHIR-RIM-NISHE-SHU II (*AFTER ca.* 1400 B.C. ?)

No. 7

1. . . . Ashur and to . . 2. his city (?), great wall . . . 3. . . which Pusur-Ashur had built (?) . . . 4. that wall 5. . . the great wall which is in the midst of the city, up to the river. . . 6. I (?) enclosed 7. . . . to its coping I rebuilt it 8. . . . (my memorial stela) I set up. May some future prince . . 9. (when that wall) shall have become weak, restore it, 10. (and Bel and) Adad will hear his prayers. 11-12. . . . phallic-cylinders let him return (to their places).

ASHUR-UBALLIT I (*ca.* 1400 B.C. ?)

No. 8

1. Ashur-uballit, 2. patesi of Ashur, 3. son of Erba-Adad, 4. patesi of Ashur. 5. When the lord Ashur 6-9. commanded the construction of the Patti-duhdi (canal), which brings plenty and abundance, 10. the well whose name is Uballit-sheshu, 11. whose iarhi the terrace, 12. ten cubits was 13. its depth, (reaching) to the (nether) waters, 14-15. which Ashur-nadin-ahi 16. patesi

L. 11. I am not able to offer a translation of this line. Kutal(?) *tamlê*, cf. No. 13, Rev. 2.

18. i-na pi-li ku-du(?) -ri(?) 19. a-gur-ri pi-li 20. i-na
 ti-bi ša būri kun-nu 21. a-na ši-bar ^{isukirf} 22. e-pi-ši
 lid-da na-da-a 23. e-pi-ra lu-u-me-li-ši 24. a-na arkât
 ûmê^{pl}ûmi(mi) 25. šarru ša būru ša-a-ti 26. i-ḥa(?) -ša-
 ḥu-ši 27. ib-ri-ša 28. li-še-la-am-ma 29. u me-e-ša 30.
 li-ik-šu-ud.

L. 21. Ši-bar or ši-par(?) Meaning not clear.

L. 24. Ūmê is written twice. The second to be translated "when?"

ADAD-NIRARI II

No. 9 (KAA, 3)

Obv. 1. ^{md}Adad-nirari ru-bu-u el-lu si-mat ili 2. e-ti-
 el-lu ša-ka-an-ki ilâni^{pl} 3. mu-ki-in ma-ḥa-zi ni-ir
 dap-nu-ti 4. um-ma-an Kaš-ši-i Ku-ti-i Lu-lu-me-i 5. u
 Šu-ba-ri-i mu-ḥi-ip kul-la-at 6. na-ki-ri e-li-iš u šap-
 li-iš 7. da-iš ma-ta-ti-šu-nu iš-tu Lu-ub-di 8. u ^{mat}Ra-
 pi-ḫu a-di E-lu-ḥa-at 9. ṣa-bi-it ki-iš-ša-at ni-ši 10.
 mu-ra-pi-iš mi-iṣ-ri u ku-du-ri 11. šarru ša naphar ma-
 al-ki u ru-be-e 12. ^dA-nu ^dAššur ^dŠamaš ^dAdad u ^dIštar
 13. a-na še-pi-šu u-še-ik-ni-šu 14. ša-an-gu-u ṣi-ru ša
^dEn-lil 15. mâr ^mA-ri-ik-di-en-ilu ša-ak-ni ^dEn-lil 16.
 iš-ša-ak-ki ^dAššur ka-ši-id 17. ^{mat}Tu-ru-ki-i u ^{mat}Ni-
 gi-im-ṭi 18. a-di pa-aṭ gi-im-ri-šu gi-me-ir 19. ma-al-ku
 šadī(i) u ḥu-ur-ša-ni 20. pa-aṭ Ku-ti-i ra-pal-ti 21. gu-
 nu Aḥ-la-me-i u Su-ti-i 22. Ia-u-ri u ma-ta-ti-šu-nu
 23. mu-ra-pi-iš mi-iṣ-ri u ku-du-ri 24. mâr mârī ša
^{md}En-lil-nirari 25. iš-ša-ak-ki ^dAššur-ma ša um-ma-an
 26. Kaš-ši-i i-na-ru-ma u na-ga-ab 27. za-e-ri-šu ḫa-su
 ik-šu-du 28. mu-ra-pi-iš mi-iṣ-ri u ku-du-ri 29. li-ip-
 li-pi ša ^{md}Aššur-uballiṭ 30. šarru dan-nu ša ša-an-gu-su
 i-na ekurri 31. ra-aš-bi-šu-tu-rat u šu-lu-um šarru-ti-šu
 32. a-na ru-ḫa-ti ki-ma ša-di-i ku-un-nu 33. mu-si-pi-iḥ
 el-la-at ^{mat}Šu-ba-ri-i ra-pal-ti 34. mu-ra-pi-iš mi-iṣ-ri
 u ku-du-ri 35. e-nu-ma dūr ali eššu ša pa-ni nâri 36.
 ša ḥal-ṣi-ti-sa-ri 37. ša ^mPu-ṣur-^dAššur a-bi šarru a-lik
 pa-ni-ia 38. i-na pa-na e-bu-šu 2½ libittu ku-bar-šu

of Ashur 17. had dug aforetime, 18. with limestone 19-20. a wall of limestone reaching to the bottom of the well. 21-22. To make of a park, I threw down its falling (walls), 23. and filled it with dirt. 24. In the days to come, 25. when some king desires (to use) that well, 27-28. let him have the dirt removed 29-30. and then he may reach its waters.

L. 26. The second sign is probably ḥa. Ši is evidently the suffixed pronoun, and the verb a Qal present.

ADAD-NIRARI II (*ca.* 1300 B.C.)

No. 9

1. Adad-nirari, illustrious prince, honored of god, 2. lord, viceroy of the gods, 3. city-founder, destroyer of the mighty 4. hosts of Cassites, Kutī, Lulūmi, 5. and Shubari; who destroys all 6. foes, north and south; 7. who tramples down their lands from Ludbu and 8. Rapiku to Elūhat; 9. who captures all peoples, 10. enlarges boundary and frontier; 11. the king, to whose feet all kings and princes, 12. Anu, Ashur, Shamash, Adad and Ishtar 13. have brought in submission; 14. the exalted priest of Enlil, 15. son of Arik-den-īlu, prefect of Enlil, 16. viceroy of Ashur, who conquered 17. the lands of Turuki and Nigimti 18. in their totality, together with all of their 19. kings, mountains and high-lands, 20. the territory of the wide-spreading Kutī, 21. the region of the Ahlāmi and Suti, 22. the Iauri and their lands; 23. who enlarged boundary and frontier; 24. grandson of Enlil-nirari, 25. viceroy of Ashur, who destroyed the armies 26. of the Cassites, whose hand overcame all of 27. his foes, 28. who enlarged the boundary and frontier; 29. great-grandson of Ashur-uballit 30. the mighty king, whose priesthood in the great temple 31. was glorious, the peace of whose reign 32. to distant lands was established (firm) as a mountain; 34. who destroyed the armies of the wide-spreading Shubari, 34. who enlarged boundary and frontier. 35. When the wall of the new city (or the new wall of the city) which is opposite the river (faces the river) 36. (and) which is provided with an encasing-wall (?), 37. which my ancestor Pusur-Ashur who reigned before me 38. had built aforetime; (when) two and one-

39. 30 ti-ip-ki mu-la-šu e-na-aḥ iḥ-ta-bi-it 40. u mi-lu
 it-bal-šu ašar-šu u-ni-ki-ir 41. dan-na-su ak-šu-ud 10
 libittu i-na na-al-ba-ni-i 42. rabi-i u-ḫi(?) -bi-ir iš-di-šu
 i-na ki-ši-ir šadî(i) 43. dan-ni lu ar-me iš-tu uš-še-šu
 44. a-di ga-ba-di-bi-šu e-bu-uš na-a-bi-šu 45. . . lu-ut
 mē^{pl} i-na [pi-l]i a-gu-ur-ri. (Rev.) 1. u ku-up-ri ak-si-
 ir i-na 2. i-na ki-si-ir-ti pi-li a-gur-[ri] 3. u ku-
 up-ri pa-ni nâri-šu aṣ-bat 4. u na-ri-ia aš-ku-un 5. a-
 na ar-ka-at ûmē^{pl} ru-bu-u ar-ku-u 6. e-nu-ma dûru šu-
 u u-šal-ba-ru-ma 7. e-na-ḥu u lu-u mi-lu i-tab-ba-lu-uš
 8. an-ḥu-su lu-di-iš na-ri-ia u šu-me šaṭ-ra 9. a-na aš-
 ri-šu lu-te-ir ^dAššur ik-ri-be-šu 10. i-še-im-me ša šu-me
 šaṭ-ra i-pa-ši-tu-ma 11. šu-um-šu i-ša-ṭa-ru u lu-u na-
 ri-ia 12. u-ša-am-sa-ku a-na ša-aḥ-lu-uḫ-ti 13. i-ma-
 nu-u i-na mi-lim i-na-du-u 14. i-na e-pi-ri û-ka-ta-mu
 u(?) i-na iššati 15. i-ḫa-lu-u a-na mē^{pl} i-na-du-u a-na
 bît asaki 16. a-šar la a-ma-ri u-še-ri-bu-ma 17. i-ša-
 ka-nu u lu-(u) aš-šum ir-ri-ti 18. ši-na-ti-na na-ka-ra
 a-ḥa-a ia-a-ba 19. li-im-ma li-ša-na na-kar-ta 20. lu-u
 ma-am-ma ša-na-a u-ma-a-ru-ma 21. u-ša-ḥa-zu u lu
 mi-im-ma 22. i-ḥa-sa-sa-ma e-bu-šu 23. ^dAššur ilu ši-ru
 a-ši-ib E-ḥar-sag-kur-kur-ra 24. ^dA-nu ^dEn-lil ^dE-a u
^dIštar 25. ilâni^{pl} rabûti^{pl} ^dI-gi-gu ša šamê(e) 26. ^dA-
 nun-na-ku ša ir-ši-ti i-na napḥar-šu-nu 27. iz-zi-iš li-
 ki-el-mu-šu-ma 28. ir-ri-ta ma-ru-uš-ta ag-gi-iš 29.
 li-ru-ru-uš šu-um-šu zêra-šu el-la-su 30. u ki-im-ta-šu
 i-na ma-ti lu-ḥal-li-ḫu 31. na-aš-pu-uḥ mâti-šu ḥa-la-
 ak ni-ši-šu 32. u ku-du-ri-šu ina pî-šu-nu ka-ab-ta 33.
 li-ša-am-ma ^dAdad i-na ri-ḫi-iš 34. li-mu-ti li-ir-ḫi-šu
 a-bu-bu 35. im-ḥul-lu sa-aḥ-ma-aš-tu ti-šu-u 36. a-ša-

Obv. 1-34 and Rev. 6 to end, cf. the inscription of Adad-nirari published in King's *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, 4f.

L. 38. Ku-bar, perhaps foundation.

L. 39. Mula, cf. Col. II, 18, of the inscription of Shamshi-Adad (No. 5), where mul is used for the usual taḥlubti, covering. Iḥtabit seems to have the same meaning as ênaḥ. Cf. No. 10, Rev. 2. Ḥabātu usually refers to the plundering of people.

half (layers of) brick of its kubar (and) 39. thirty tipki of its encasing-wall had become weak and had given way, 40. and the waters had overflowed it and obliterated all traces of it (made its place unknown), 41. I dug down to its foundations, and ten (layers of) the (adobe) brickwork I covered (?) with a strong encasing-wall of burnt brick. 42. Its foundations I established upon huge blocks of stone from the mountain. 43. From its foundation 44. to its coping I rebuilt its nâbi 45. the . . of waters with a wall of burnt brick (Rev.) 1. and bitumen I dammed up. 2. With a quay of stone, burnt brick and bitumen 3. I enclosed its riverward-side, 4. and set up my memorial tablet. 5. In the days to come, may some future prince, 6. when that wall shall become old 7. and fall into ruins, when the high-water shall overflow it, 8. restore its ruins, return my memorial stela with (and) my inscription 9. to its place and Ashur will hear his prayers. 10. Whoever shall blot out my name 11. and write his own name (in its place), or shall break my memorial stela, 12. or shall consign it to destruction, 13. or throw it into the river, 14. or shall cover it with earth, 15. or cast it into the fire, or into the water, or shall take it into a dark chamber 16. where it cannot be seen, and 17. shall set it up therein, 18. or if anyone because of these curses shall send a hostile foe or an evil 19. enemy, or an evil tongue (that is, a slanderer), 20. or any other man, 21. and shall have him seize it, or if he plan 22. and carry out any other plot against it, 23. may Ashur the mighty god, who dwells in Ehar-sagkurkurra, 24. Anu, Enlil, Ea, and Ishtar, 25. the great gods, the Igigu of heaven, 26. the Anunaku of earth all of them (lit. in their totality), 27. look upon him in great anger, and 28. curse him with an evil curse. 29. His name, his seed, his kith and kin 30. may they destroy from the land. 31. The destruction of his land, the ruin of his people and his boundary, 32. may they

L. 44. As Delitzsch pointed out in *MDOG*, 22, 73, this passage shows that the word usually transliterated taḥ-lu-bi has no connection with the verb ḫalâpu (from which, however, the noun taḫlubtu is derived), but is to be read gab-dib-bi. This explains the variant reading gab-dib-šu-nu of the building inscription of Ashur-resh-ishi (King, *Annals*, 21, n. 7), as well as the gab-bi-dib-šu of text A of the Cylinder Inscription of Tiglath-pileser I, Col. VII, 85 (King, *Annals*, 97, n. 3).

am-šu-tu su-un-ku bu-bu-tu 37. a-ru-ur-tu hu-ša-hu
i-na mâti-šu lu ka-ia-an 38. mâ-t-su a-bu-bi-iš lu-uš-
ba-i 39. a-na ti-li u kar-me lu-te-ir 40. ^dAdad i-na
bi-ri-iḫ li-mu-ti 41. mâ-t-su li-ib-ri-iḫ.

arab Mu-ḫur-ilâni^{pl} ūmu l^{kam} li-mu

Ana- ^dAššur-ka-al-la rab Ekallim(lim).

No. 10 (KAA, 4)

Obv. (Lines 1 to 28 are the same as lines 1 to 34 of the preceding inscription, with the following exceptions: After l. 20 add, ka-ši-id^{mat} Ku-ut-mu-ḫi u na-gab ri-ši-šu; after l. 32 add mu-še-ik-ni-iš^{mat} Mu-uṣ-[ri].)

29. e-nu-ma dūru ali eššu rabâ(a) ša mu-li-e ša [pâni
nâri] 30. ša iš-tu dūri rabê(e) ša lib-bi ali a-na si . . . 31.
a-di nâri ša ^mPu-sur-^dA-šur a-bi šarru 32. a-lik pa-ni-ia
i-na pa-na e-bu-šu dūru ša-a-tu 33. ^m^dA-šur-rim(EN)-ni-
še-šu a-bi-ma u-la-bi-is-su 34. -i(?)-tu-ur e-na-aḫ-ma
35. ^mErba-^dAdad pa-te-si ^dA-šur a-bi-ma 36. šarru a-lik
pa-ni-ia a-di abullâti-šu 37. u(?) a-sa-ia-te-šu a-li-ik
dūr a-li u-la-bi-[is-su]. (Rev.) 1. dūru(?) ma-aḫ-ta
iš-tu uš-še-šu a-di gab-dib-bi-šu e-bu-uš 2. dūru šu-u
e-na-aḫ-ma iḫ-ta-bi-it ^m^dAdad-nir[ari] pa-te-si ^dAšur
3. an-ḫu-su u-di-iš an-ša aḫ-ta dūru(?) ma-aḫ-ta iš-tu
uš-še-šu 4. a-di gab-dib-bi-šu e-bu-uš 14 libittu i-na
na-al-ba-ni-ia rabī u-[ki-bi]-ir 5. u na-ri-ia aš-ku-un na-
ri-e ša ab-bi-ia 6. it-ti na-ri-ia-ma aš-ku-un 7. a-na
ar-ka-at ūmê^{pl} ru-bu-u ar-ku-u 8. e-nu-ma dūru šu-u

L. 20. The writing Ku-ut-mu-ḫi is interesting. No doubt the name is to be read Kutmuḫi in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser as well, that is, the kat sign had the value kut as well as kum. In No. 14, Col. III, 19, the reading is Kut(tar-kut sign)-mu-ḫi. In the later inscriptions however the t was lost.

L. 29. Cf. No. 9, Obv. 35.

L. 33. It may be necessary to distinguish between Ashur-rim-nishe-shu and Ashur-bêl-nishe-shu. The names however have the same meaning, namely, "Ashur is *lord* of his peoples." If we read the names differently, the second Ashur-rim-nishe-shu (above p. 159) is to be replaced by Ashur-bel-nishe-shu.

decree by their fateful command. 33. May Adad overwhelm him 34. with an evil downpour, may flood and storm, 35. confusion and tumult, 36. tempest, want, and famine, 37. drought and hunger continue in his land. 38. May Adad pour his floods upon his land, 39. turn it into ruins and wastes, 40. and destroy his land with his destructive lightning.

The month Muhur-ilani, the first day; the eponymy (year) of Ana-Ashur-kalla, the major domo.

No. 10

Obv. 1-28 are the same as 1-34 of the preceding inscription with the following exceptions: After 20, add "conqueror of the land of Kutmuhi and all of its allies." After 32, add "who subjugated the land of Musri." Note that the first phrase refers to Arik-den-ilu and the second to Ashur-uballit.

29. When the great wall of the new city with a rampart facing the river (?), 30. and which extends (?) from the great wall of the middle of the city to . . . 31. up to the river, which Pusur-Ashur, my ancestor, a king who lived before my time, 32. had built afore-time; that wall 33. my ancestor Ashur-rim-nishe-shu enclosed (with a new encasing wall) 34. . . and became weak, then 35. my ancestor Erba-Adad, patesi of Ashur, 36. a king who lived before my time, 37. covered it (with a new encasing wall) up to its gates and piers, the whole length of the city wall (?). (Rev.) 1. The wall which had fallen (or the fallen parts of the wall) he rebuilt from its foundation to its coping. 2. That wall became weak and fell into ruins (once more) and Adad-nirari, patesi of Ashur, 3. repaired it, (then) I tore it down completely (?) and rebuilt the fallen wall from its foundation 4. to its coping. I encased it with a (lit. my) great encasing wall of burnt brick, fourteen brick deep (?) 5. and set up my memorial

L. 37. Rubbed, context obscure.

Rev. 2. The restoration of the name Adad-nirari is based on Delitzsch's notes on p. 73 of KAA. The nirari is not certain, but the traces clearly point to this reading. If this reading is correct we must place an Adad-nirari I between the Adad-nirari of these inscriptions and Erba-Adad, unless Adad-nirari, the author of the inscription, is meant. This is not impossible.

9. u-šal-ba-ru-ma e-na-ḥu an-ḥu-su lu-di-iš 10. šu-me šaṭ-ra na-ri-ia u ti-me-ni-ia 11. a-na aš-ri-šu-nu lu-te-ir ^dA-šur ik-ri-be-šu 12. i-še-me (etc. like preceding). 36. (after ^mAdad ina biriḫ mât-su libriḫ) ^dBêltu a-bi-iḫ mât[i-šu] 37. i-na pa-ni na-ak-ri-šu ia iz-zi-iz a-na mat(?)

^{arab}Kar-ra-a-tu li-mum(?).

No. 11 (KAA, 5)

(Lines 1 to 32 are same as preceding with the following exceptions:

8. a-di E-lu-ḥa-at ka-ši-id ^{alu}Ta-i-di 9. ^{alu}Šu-ri ^{alu}[Ka-ḥa-at ^{alu}A-ma-sa-ki 10. ^{alu}Ḥu-ur-ra ^{alu}Šu-du-ḥi ^{alu}Na-bu-la 11. ^{alu}Uš-šu-ka-ni u ^{alu}Ir-ri-di 12. si-ḥi-ir-ti Ka-ši-ia-e-ri a-di E-lu-ḥa-at 13. ḥal-ši ^{alu}Su-di ḥal-ši Ḥa-ra-ni a-di ^{alu}Kar-ga-miš 14. ša a-aḥ ^{nâri}Pu-ra-ti ṣa-bi-it kiš-šat ni-ši etc.)

22. (after paṭ Ḳuti rapalti) ka-ši-id ^{mat}Ku-ut-mu-ḥi u na-gab ri-ši-šu etc.

31. (After šarrûtišu ana ruḫâte kîma šadî kunnu) mu-še-ik-ni-iš ^{mat}Mu-uṣ-ri mu-si-pi-iḥ el-la-at 32. ^{mat}Šu-ba-ri-e etc.)

33. e-nu-ma ekallu ali-ia ^dAššur ša ^{md}Aššur-nirari 34. li(m)-li-it-ti ab-be-ia šarru a-lik pa-ni-ia i-na pa-na 35. e-bu-šu i-ga-ru ša ri-iš ba-a-be ša ḥaṭ-ṭi (Lower Edge) 36. ša tar-ši pi-li-e ša ki-ri-ib ekallim(lim) 37. ša-a-ti a-li parakku ša ^dAššur beli-ia (Rev.) 1. i-na kir-bi-šu ib-šu u (ša-)at-ti-ša-am-ma 2. ^dAššur be-li a-na parakki ša-a-tu a-na a-ša-bi il-la-[ku] 3. i-ga-ru šu-u e-na-aḥ-ma an-ḥu-su u-ni-ki-ir 4. u-di-iš a-na aš-ri-šu u-te-ir u na-ri-ia aš-ku-un 5. a-na ar-kat ûmê^{p1} rubû ar-ku-u e-nu-ma 6. i-ga-ru šu-u u-šal-ba-ru-ma e-na-ḥu an-ḥu-su 7. lu-di-iš etc. 13. . . . a-na bît a-sa-ki a-šar la-ma-ri etc. 31. ^dBêltu a-bi-ik-ti mâti-šu li-iš-kun i-na

Ll. 8 f. Taidi, etc., cf. Shalmaneser (No. 14), Col. III, 1 f.

L. 34. Lim-li-it-ti, for lil-li-it-ti. Which Ashur-nirari is here referred to?

Ll. 37 f. An interesting passage, showing that Ashur entered his shrine yearly, that is, there was a yearly procession similar to that of the zagnuk-

stela. The memorial stela of my ancestors 6. I set up beside my own. 7. In the days to come, may some future prince, 8. when that wall shall have become old and weak, 9. restore its ruins, 10. return the memorial stela with my inscription, and my foundation cylinder to 11. their places, and Ashur will hear his prayers, etc. 36. (after, "may Adad destroy his land with his lightning") may Belit accomplish the overthrow of his land, 37. before his foes may he not be able to stand (?).

The month Karâtu, eponymy of

No. 11

Lines 1 to 32 are the same as the beginning of Nos. 9 and 10, with the following exceptions: 8. as far as Eluhât, conqueror of the cities of Taidi, Shuri, [Ka]hat, Amasaki, Hurra, Shuduhi, Nabula, Ushukani, and Irridi; the whole of the Kashiari mountain region as far as Eluhât, the stronghold of Sudi, the stronghold of Haran, as far as Karkamish which is on the banks of the Euphrates, etc.

22. (after "the wide spreading Kutî") who conquered the land of Kutmuhi and all of its allies.

31. Conqueror of Musri. Note that the conquests mentioned in 8 f. were accomplished by Adad-nirari himself, while those of 22 f. and 31 f. belong to the reigns of Arik-den-ilu and Ashur-uballit respectively (cf. the preceding inscription).

33. When the palace of my city Ashur, which Ashur-nirari, 34. offspring of my ancestors, a king who reigned before my time, 35. had built aforetime: the wall at the head of the Gate(s) of the Scepter (?), 36. . . . which is opposite (?) the which is in 37. that palace of the city. The shrine of my lord Ashur (Rev.) 1. he built therein and yearly 2. the lord Ashur goes to dwell in that shrine. 3. That wall became weak and I cleared away its ruins, 4. renewed it and restored it to its place. My memorial stela I set up.

festival at Babylon. The Chronicles frequently have notices like, "the gods of Dur-Sharru-ukin (or other gods) entered their shrines."

Rev. 13. Bît a-sa-ki; this gives the value of the ideogram for which King, *Annals*, p. 9, suggested ekliti. The words probably have the same meaning. Ashurnasirpal uses bît ki-li (King, *Annals*, 166).

L. 31f. This passage, although rubbed in places, makes possible the restoration of 36f. of the preceding inscription.

pa-ni 32. na-ak-ri-šu ia iz-zi-iz ^dAdad i-na bi-ri-iḫ
(Upper Edge) 33. li-mut-ti mât-su li-ib-ri-iḫ a-na mâti
.. 34. ḥu-ša-aḥ-ḥa li-di 35. (Left Edge) ^{arab}Kar-
rat-te ūmu 20^{kam} li-mu ^mŠa-^dAdad-ni-nu

No. 12 (KAA, 6)

1. ^{md}Adad-nirari ša-ak-ni ^dEn-lil šangû ^dA-šur 2. mâr
Arik-dên-ilu ša-ak-ni ^dEn-lil šangû ^dA-šur 3. mâr ^dEn-
lil-nirari ša-ak-ni ^dEn-lil šangû ^dA-šur-ma 4. e-nu-ma
a-bu-sa-tu ša bâb ^dAnim u ^dAdad 5. bēlê^{pl} -ia u . . .
ši-na ša i-na pa-na 6. ib-ša e-na-ḥa . . . a-bu-sa-te
7. iṣ-tu uš-še-ši-[na] a-di gab-dib-bi-ši-na e-bu-uš 8.
^{iṣ}udalâti^{pl} a-šu-ḥi [paḫlu-]te ir-ri-ti 9. ṣi-ra-ti eššâti^{pl}
. . . e-bu-uš 10. i-na mi-si-ir [siparri] u-ṣi-bi-it 11. i-na
abulli ^dAnim u ^dAdad bēlê^{pl} -ia 12. a-na da-ra-ti u-
ki(?) -in 13. a-na ar-ka-at ūmê(me)^{pl} rubû ar-ku-u
14. e-nu-ma bît a-bu-sa-tu u ^{iṣ}udalâti^{pl} -ši-na 15. e-na-
ḥa-ma u-da- 16. ki-ma ia-a-ti-ma li-bu-uš 17. šu-mi
šaṭ-ra a-na aš-ri-šu lu-te-[ir] 18. ^dA-šur ^dA-nu u ^dAdad
ik-ri-be-šu [išemû] 19. mu-ni-ki-ir ši-it-ri-ia u šu-me-
ia 20. ^dA-šur ^dA-nu ^dAdad ilâni^{pl} rabûti^{pl} 21. a-lik
ri-ṣi-ia-ma(?) lik-da-me-? 22. šarru-su li-is-ki-pu šum-
šu . . 23. i-na mâti lu-ḥal-li-ḫu na-aš-pu-uḥ mâti-šu
24. ḥa-lak ni-ši-šu u ku-du-ri-šu 25. i-na pî(i)-šu-nu
kabta 26. li-ša-am-ma 27. ^dAdad i-na bi-ri-iḫ li-mu-ti
28. mât-su li-ib-ri-iḫ 29. a-na mâti-šu ḥu-ša-ḥa li-di

L. 4. Abusati, see Delitzsch, *HWB*; from the expression bît-abusatu of line 14, and lines 6f., it would seem that a meaning like pylon, or pilaster, must be assigned to the word. It probably has nothing to do with **בזבז**, as is suggested in the *Ges.-Buhl Heb. Lex.*

No. 13 (KAA, 65)

Obv. (1 to 25 same as No. 11, 1 f.)

26. ki-si-ir-ta ša pa-ni nâri ša iṣ-tu si-ip-pi- 27. e-li-e
ša bâb ^dE-a-šarri a-di si-ip-pi-i 28. šap-li-e ša bâb

5 f. In the days to come, may some future prince, when that wall shall have become old, etc. 13. to a house of darkness, etc. 31 f. May Belit establish his overthrow of his land, may he not be able to stand before his enemies, may Adad destroy his land with his destructive lightning, may . . . bring famine to his land.

Month of Karrate, the twentieth day, the eponymy of Sha-Adad-ninu

No. 12

1. Adad-nirari, prefect of Enlil, priest of Ashur, 2. son of Arikden-ilu, prefect of Enlil, priest of Ashur, 3. son of Enlil-nirari, prefect of Enlil, priest of Ashur. 4. When the abusatu of the gate of 5. my lords Anu and Adad and their . . . , which had been built aforetime, 6. fell to ruins, . . . the abusate 7. from their foundations to their copings I rebuilt; 8. doors of mighty ashuhutrees, 9. large new irriti, . . I made, 10. with a covering of copper I covered (them), 11. and in the gate of my lords Anu and Adad, I set them up 12. for all time to come. 13. In days to come, may some future prince, 14. when the bît-abusati and their doors 15. shall have fallen to ruins and . . . 16. may he renew them as I did, 17. and return my inscription to its place, 18. and Ashur and Adad will hear his prayers. 19. But whoever blots out my inscription and name, 20. may Ashur and Adad and the great gods, 21. my protectors, ——— him, 22. overthrow his kingdom, 23. destroy his name and . . from the land. The destruction of his land, 24. the ruin of his people and his boundary, 25–26. may they decree by their fateful command. 27. May Adad with his destructive lightning 28. destroy his land, 29. and may he bring famine to his land.

No. 13

Lines 1 to 25 are the same as No. 11, 1 f.

L. 26. The quay which faces the river and extends from the 27. upper threshold of the gate of Ea-sharri to the 28. lower threshold of the gate of Ninib (?), had become weak from the water 29. and the high-water came up to it and carried 30. off its (casing of) burnt brick. That quay I strengthened 31. with (bitumen) and burnt brick, four

^d MAŠ-NA-LAL ša i-na mē^{pl} e-na-[ḥu-ma] 29. mi-lu a-na ša-a šu-bu-li-šu u a-gur-[ri] 30. it-ba-lu ki-si-ir-ta ša-a-ti iṣ-tu ku . . . 31. u a-gur-ri ak-si-ir 4½ a-gur-ri u-

(Rev.) 1. [i]-na pi-li u ib-ri ša ali u-ba- . . 2. ku-ta-li-šu ak-si-ir u na-ri-ia aš-ku-[un . .] 3. a-na ar-kat ūmē^{pl} ru-bu-u ar-ku-u 4. e-nu-ma ki-is-ir-tu ši-i u-šal-ba-ru-ma 5. e-na-ḥu an-ḥu-su lu-di-iš šu-mi šaṭ-ra 6. na-ri-ia a-na aš-ri-šu lu-te-ir etc. 13. a-na bit a-sa-ak-ki a-šar etc.

L. 26. Adad-nirari IV (usually III) mentions this quay and its builder Adad-nirari (KAA, No. 24, Rev. 6). A number of bricks of Adad-nirari also refer to the quay. KAA, 7, reads: Ekal ^mAdad-nirari patesi(?) mār Arik-den-ilu patesi-ma ša ki-si-ir-ti ša pāni nāri; "palace of Adad-nirari, the patesi, son of Arik-den-ilu, the patesi; (brick) from the quay which faces the river."

SHALMANESER I

No. 14 (KAA, 13)

Obv. Col. I. 1. ^mŠulmānu-ašaridu ša-ak-ni ^dBêl šangû Aš-šur 2. el-lu šakkanakku ilāni^{pl} rubû mi-gir ^dIštar 3. mu-bi-ib šu-luḥ-ḥi u nindabû 4. mu-ša-tir ana napḥar ilāni^{pl} zi-i-bi 5. tak-li-me mu-kin ma-ḥa-zi el-lu-ti 6. ba-nu E-ḥar-sag-kur-kur-ra ki-iṣ-ši ilāni^{pl} 7. šadû(u)mâtâtî BUR-GAL tab-ra-ti ri-u 8. pu-ḥur da-ad-me ša-il šak-ka(?) 9. tu-šu šu-tu-ra el Aš-šur ṭa-a-ba 10. ur-ša-nu ḫar-du li-u tu-ḫu-ma-ti 11. ḫa-am

Col. I. 4-5. Zibi, corresponds to the bloody sacrifice (זָבִי) of the O.T. If the first word of 5 is to be read taklime (the variant readings do not help to determine the reading), the translation "show-bread" may bring out the meaning of the term. That is, if the word is to be derived from kalāmu; see Delitzsch, *HWB*. Zimmern, *KAT*, 600, has another equivalent for the Hebrew לֶחֶם הַפָּנִים, but the later biblical books also use the term לֶחֶם הַמִּצְרָח, which would indicate that the Hebrew term is descriptive rather than a *terminus technicus*. Cf. Asurnasirpal inscription (King, *Annals*, 165), ni-da-ba-ša u tak-li-ša u-ki-in-ši.

Ll. 7-8. Instead of BUR-GAL dadme, another text has the reading pa-te-si ri-iš-tu-u šaknu ^dA-nim u ^dBêl, chief patesi (high-priest, "Defender of the Faith"), prefect of Anu and Bel. With BUR-GAL compare GAL-BUR=ušumgal, S^b 125. Ša-il šak-ka: šailu

and one-half (layers) of burnt brick and (Rev.) 1. upon (?) a limestone (foundation?), and earth from the city I (brought) and 2. strengthened its kutalli. My memorial stela I set up. 3. In the days to come, when that quay shall have become old, etc.

KAA, 12, Ekal ^mAdad-nirari šar kiššati apil Arik-den-ilu šar ^{ma}tAššur ša ki-si-ir-ti ša kisâdi(i) narâti (var. na-ri) ša ekal-la-ti, "palace of Adad-nirari, king of the universe, son of Arik-den-ilu, king of Assyria; (brick) from the quay facing the bank(s) of the river(s), belonging to the palaces."

Rev. 2. From this passage it would seem that kutallu means the solid core of a wall or terrace. See the inscription of Ashur-uballit (No. 8), 11 f., where the old well of Ashur-nadin-ahe seems to have been dug down through the core of the terrace (kutaḷ tamlê).

SHALMANESER I (ca. 1295 B.C.)

No. 14

Obv. Col. I. 1. Shalmaneser, prefect of Bel, priest of Ashur, 2. the illustrious viceroy of the gods, favorite prince of Ishtar, 3. who restores (purifies) the cult and the freewill offerings, 4. who increases the bloody sacrifices and the 5. show-bread (?) for all of the gods. Founder of splendid cities, 6. builder of Eharsagkurkurra, the abode of the gods, 7. the mountain of the lands. Awe-inspiring despot, shepherd of all peoples, 8. counsellor of (all) creatures (?), 9. who increases the evil (?) more than Ashur the good (!). 10. Strong warrior, mighty in battle, 11. who burns

(Del., *HWB*, 634), name of a priest class; perhaps here to be translated "counsellor"; cf. the usage of šaâlu in *I*₂, where it is equivalent to malâku. The Hebrew שאל, "inquire," in a legal sense, may also be compared with this usage (Deut. 13:15). The word is clearly to be regarded as a parallel of rê'u. This seems to follow from its combination with the word šakka. Whatever may be the correct reading of this word, *II R* 36, 3 c, d, shows that it is related to bašamu, and the meaning of this is in all probability "creature"; the verb bašamu means "to make, to form." The fact that šail šakka is parallel to the preceding rîu puḥur dadmê strengthens this conclusion. A free rendering of the two phrases would be, "shepherd and counsellor of all peoples, all creatures."

L. 9. Translation doubtful.

L. 10. Uršanu, var. ur-ša-an-nu. Instead of li-u f., var. has li-ḫu-um tuḫumâti (GIŠ-LAL-MEŠ). This would indicate that the root is לנה not להל.

za-a-a-ri mu-ul-ta-aš-gi-mu 12. ka-bal gi-ri-šu ša ki-ma nab-li 13. it-ta-na-aš-ra-ru e-ri-iḥ 14. ta-ḥa-su u ki-ma ḡis-par mu-ti 15. la pa-di-e te-bu-u ^{iṣu} kakkê^{p1}-šu 16. rubû ki-nu ša i-na tukulti ^dAš-šur 17. u ilâni^{p1} rabûti^{p1} bēlê^{p1}-šu it-ta-la-ku-ma 18. ma-ḥi-ra la-a i-šu-u ṣa-bit 19. mi-iṣ-rat na-ki-ri e-liš u šap-liš 20. bēlu ša naphar ma-al-ki u rubê(e) 21. ^dAš-šur u ilâni^{p1} rabûti^{p1} ana šêpi-šu 22. u-še-ik-ni-šu e-nu-ma Aš-šur bēlu 23. a-na pa-la-ḥi-šu ki-niš u-ta-ni-ma 24. a-na šu-šur ṣalmât kaḳḳada(a) ^{iṣu} ḥaṭṭu ^{iṣu} kakku 25. u šipir-ra id-di-na a-ga-a ki-na 26. ša be-lu-ti iṣ-ru-ḳa i-na ûme(me)-šu-ma 27. i-na šur-ru šangûti(ti)-ia ^{mat}U-ru-ad-ri 28. ib-bal-ki-tu-ni-ma a-na ^dAš-šur 29. u ilâni^{p1} rabûti^{p1} bēlê^{p1}-ia ḳa-ti 30. aš-ši da-ku-ut um-manâti^{p1}-ia aš-ku-un 31. a-na ki-ṣir ḥur-ša-ni-šu-nu dan-nu-ti 32. lu e-li ^{mat}Ḥi-im-me (Lower Edge) 33. ^{mat}U-ad-ḳu-un ^{mat}Bar-gu-un 34. ^{mat}Sa-lu-a ^{mat}Ḥa-li-la ^{mat}Lu-ḥa 35. ^{mat}Ni-li-pa-aḥ-ri 36. u ^{mat}Zi-in-gu-un 8 mâtâtî^{p1} 37. u ellâtî^{p1}-ši-na ak-šud 51 alâni^{p1}- 38. šu-nu ak-kur aš-ru-up šal-la-su-nu 39. makurra-šu-nu aš-lu-ul pu-ḥur 40. ^{mat}U-ru-ad-ri i-na 3-ti ûmê(me) Col. II. 1. a-na šêpi Aš-šur bēli-ia lu-še-ik-niš 2. ad-me-šu-nu u-ni-šik ^{amêl}pagri 3. a-na ar-du-ti u pa-la-ḥi-ia 4. u-ta-šu-nu-ti kab-ta bilta 5. ḥur-ša-ni a-na da-ra-ti eli-šu-nu 6. lu aš-ku-un ^{alu}A-ri-na ki-ṣa šur-šu-da 7. ki-ṣir ḥur-ša-ni ša i-na maḥ-ra 8. ib-bal-ki-tu i-še-ṭu Aš-šur 9. i-na tukulti Aš-šur u ilâni^{p1} rabûti^{p1} 10. bēlê^{p1}-ia alu ša-a-tu ak-šud ak-kur 11. u ku-di-me e-li-šu az-ru ib-ri-šu 12. e-si-pa-ma i-na

L. 14. Gišpar, var. GIŠ-PA, that is, ḥaṭṭu for ḥaṭṭu ḥuḥaru. Cf. חבלי מור.

L. 25. Šiparra, var. ši-pi-ra, one of the insignia of office. Variant of šibirru.

L. 27. U-rat-ti; cf. 40, where the form U-ru-ḥu-ad-ri occurs as a variant reading. Probably the earliest occurrence of the name of Armenia, written Urarṭu in the later texts.

L. 28. After the verb, var. adds it-ti-ia ik-ki-ru za-e-ru-ti e-pu-šu, became estranged from me and stirred up enmity.

up the enemy, thunders (like Adad) amongst his foes; 12. who bursts forth like a flame of fire; 13. who decides the battle (or is brave in battle?); 14-15. and like the snare of certain death is the onset of his arms. 16. The legitimate ruler, who looks to Ashur 17. and the great gods, his lords, for support, 18. who has no rival; who seizes 19. the territory of the enemy north and south. 20. The lord to whose feet 21. Ashur and the great gods 22. have brought all kings and rulers in submission. When the lord Ashur 23. chose me for his legitimate worshiper, 24. and, for the ruling of the black-headed people gave me lance, scepter and 25. staff, he presented me the diadem 26. of legitimate rulership. At that time, 27. at the beginning of my priesthood, the land of Uruadri 28. rebelled, and to Ashur 29. and the great gods, my lords, I raised 30. my hands in prayer, mustered my armies, 31. went up against their mighty mountain fastnesses. 32. The lands of Himme, 33. Uadkun, Bargun, 34. Salua, Halila, Luha, 35. Nilipahri, 36. Zin-gun: eight countries 37. with their forces I conquered. Fifty-one of their cities 38. I captured, burned, their booty, 39. their property, I seized. The whole 40. land of Uruadri, in three days' time, Col. II. 1. at the feet of Ashur my lord, I brought in submission. 2. Their young men I brought down dead, 3. chose them (the survivors) to serve and fear me. 4. Heavy tribute 5. for a mountainous region (to pay?), for all time, I imposed 6. upon them. The city of Arina, a strongly fortified 7. mountain fastness, which had formerly revolted, 8. despising the god Ashur; 9. by the help of Ashur and the great gods, 10. my lords, I took that city, destroyed it, 11. and scattered kudime over its (site). Its dust 12. I gathered

L. 30. *Dakûtu*, cf. the usual *dikûtu*.

Ll. 30f. Countries lying to the northwest of Assyria, cf. Tiglath-pileser.

L. 40. One text has variant reading, U-ru-ḥu-ad-ri.

Col. II. 2. *Admê*, young men, probably the young warriors. *Unişik amêl pagri* (*šalamtu*), var. *ina pagri*: brought low as, or among the dead. Verb *našâku* which forms a group with *nadû* and *maḫâtum*; Del., *HWB*, 486.

Ll. 4-5. *Kabta bilta ḥuršâni*, tribute which is heavy for a mountainous region to pay(?).

L. Arina, cf. p. 162, above. *Ki-ša*, var. *ki-iš-ša*.

L. 11. *Kudime*, meaning? The custom of scattering stones, salt, and

abulli ali-ia Aš-šur 13. a-na aḥ-rat ûmê^{pl} lu aš-bu-uk
 14. i-na ûmi(mi)-šu-ma ^{mat}Mu-uṣ-ri ka-li-ša 15. a-na
 šêpi Aš-šur bêli-ia lu-še-ik-niṣ 16. e-nu-ma i-na ki-bit
 ilâni^{pl} rabûti^{pl} 17. i-na e-mu-ḫi ṣi-ra-ti ša Aš-šur 18.
 bêli-ia ana ^{mat}Ḥa-ni-gal-bat alliku-ma 19. ṭu-di šap-
 ša-ki ni-ri-be mar-ṣu-ti 20. lu ab-ti ^mŠat-tu-a-ra šar
^{mat}Ḥa-ni 21. umman ^dḤa-ti-i u Ḥh-la-mi-i 22. it-ti-šu
 lu-u-še-eš-ḫir 23. ni-ri-be u maš-ḫa-ia lu iṣ-bat 24.
 a-na ṣu-ma-me-ti u ma-na-aḥ-ti 25. ummani-ia i-na
 gi-biṣ ummanâti^{pl}-šu-nu 26. dap-niṣ lu it-bu-ni-ma
 27. am-da-ḥaṣ-ma a-bi-ik-ta-šu-nu 28. aš-ku-un tab-du
 ummanâti^{pl}(ti)-šu-nu 29. ra-ap-ša-ti ana la me-ni
 a-du-uk 30. a-na ša-a-šu i-na zi-ki-it 31. ma-al-ma-li
 a-di ša-la-mu 32. ^dšam-ši lu ad-da-ra-ṣu (Lower Edge)
 33. gu-un-ni-šu-nu u-pil-liḫ 34. 4 šar bal-ṭu-ti-šu-nu
 u-ni-bil 35. aš-lu-ul 9 ma-ḫa-zi-šu dan-nu-ti 36. alu
 be-lu-ti-šu lu ak-šu-ud 37. u 3 šu-ši alâni^{pl}-šu a-na
 tilli u ḫar-me 38. aš-bu-uk umman ^dḤa-at-ti-i 39. u
 Aḥ-la-me-i ra-i-ṣu-šu 40. ki-ma zi-ir-ḫi lu-u-ti-bi-iḫ
 (Rev.) Col. III. 1. i-na ûme(me)-šu-ma iṣ-tu ^{alu}Ta-i-di
 2. a-di ^{alu}Ir-ri-di si-ḫir-ti ^{mat}Ka-ši-a-ri 3. a-di ^{alu}E-lu-
 ḫat ḫal-ši (^{alu})Su-u-di 4. ḫal-ši (^{alu})Ḥar-ra-ni a-di
 (^{alu})Ḳar-ga-miṣ 5. ša a-aḥ Bu-ra-te alâni^{pl}-šu-nu aṣ-
 bat 6. mââtâti^{pl}-šu-nu a-bil u ši-ta-at 7. alâni^{pl}-šu-nu
 i-na iṣṣati lu-u-ḫi-li 8. ar-ki-šu ^{mat}Ḳu-ti-i ša ki-ma
 kakkab šamê(e) 9. me-nu-ta la-a i-du-u ša-gal-ta 10.
 la-an ib-bal-ki-tu-ni-ma 11. it-ti-ia ik-ki-ru za-e-ru-ti
 12. e-bu-šu a-na Aš-šur u ilâni^{pl} rabûti^{pl} 13. bêlê^{pl}-ia
 ḫa-ti aš-ši ma-a an-na 14. ki-na e-še-ri-iṣ e-bu-lu-ni-ni

weeds (?) over the site of a city that had been razed is well known. Cf. ṣipa and ṭabtu in Del., *HWB*.

L. 16. Šattuara, var. Ša-tu-a-ra; probably an Aryan name, cf. my article on "Some Hittite and Mitannian Personal Names," *AJSL*, XXVI, No. 2 (January, 1910), 101.

L. 17. Emûḫi, var. id(u).

L. 20. Ḥani, vars. have full form Ḥanigalbat.

L. 23. Var. maš-ḫa-a-ia.

L. 25. After mu var. adds [ra]-ap-ša-ti.

and in the gate of my city Ashur 13. I poured it out (as a witness) for the days to come. 14. At that time the whole land of Musri I brought in submission 15. to the feet of Ashur my lord. 16. When, at the behest of the great gods, 17. with the mighty hosts of my lord Ashur 18. I advanced against the land of Hanigalbat, 19. over difficult roads and narrow passes 20. I forced my way, Shattuara, king of Hani, 21. the army of Hittites and Aramaeans 22. with him, I surrounded. 23. The passes and my water supply he cut off (seized). 24. Because of (?) thirst and for a camping ground 25-26. my army bravely advanced into the masses of their troops, 27. and I fought a battle and accomplished their defeat. 28-29. Countless numbers of his defeated and wide spreading hosts I killed. 30. Against (the king) himself, at the point 31. of the spear, unto the setting 32. of the sun I waged battle. (Lower Edge.) 33. I devastated their lands, 34. 14,400 of them I overthrew and 35. took as living captives. Nine of his strongholds, 36. his capital city, I captured. 37. One hundred and eighty of his cities to *tells* and ruins 38. I overturned. The army of Hittites 39. and Aramaeans, his allies, 40. like sheep I slaughtered. (Rev.) Col. III. 1. At that time, from the city of Taidi 2. to the city of Irridi, the whole Kashiari mountain region, 3. to the city of Eluhāt, the stronghold of Sudi, 4. the stronghold of Haran as far as Karkamish, 5. on the bank of the Euphrates, I captured their cities. 6. Their lands I brought under my sway, and the rest 7. of their cities I burned with fire. 8. Thereupon, the land of the Kutī, whose numbers 9. are countless as the stars of heaven, 10. even before they revolted against me and 11. fought with me, they stirred up enmity; 12. to Ashur and the great gods, my lords, 13. I raised my hands in prayer, saying: 14. "they faithfully promised me their good faith." 15. I left the camp of my army behind, 16. took the choicest of my chariots, 17. rushed into the midst of battle with them. 18. From the border of the land of Uruadri 19. to the

L. 26. Var. da-ap-ni-iš.

L. 40. Zirki; the verb uṭibiḥ shows that zirku is probably a synonym of immerum, sheep, as V R 28. 6 e, f, indicates.

Col. III. Taidi, etc., cf. No. 11 (Adad-nirari), 8f.

L. 10. La-an, var. lam.

15. ka-ra-aš ummanâti^{pl}-ia e-zi-ib 16. ni-siḫ narka-
bâti^{pl}-ia šu-lu-uḫ-ta 17. lu al-ḫi a-na ki-rib ta-ha-zi-
šu-nu 18. ad-di iš-tu mi-ṣir ^{mat}U-ru-ad-ri 19. a-di
^{mat}Kut-mu-ḫi ši-id-di na-as-ku-ti 20. pi-ir-ka be-ri-e
ni-su-ti 21. na-bu-ul-ti ummanâti^{pl}-šu-nu 22. ra-ap-
ša-ti ki-ma mē^{pl} lu at-bu-uk 23. šal-mat ḫu-ra-di-šu-nu
ṣi-ra 24. ra-ap-ša lu-u-me-el-li 25. šal-la-su bu-ul-šu
e-ma-am-šu 26. u makkura-šu a-na ali-ia Aš-šur lu-
ub-la 27. ri-u ki-nu ša ^dA-nu u ^dBêl 28. šûmi-šu a-na
da-ra-ti ib-bu-u ana-ku 29. zêru da-ru-u mu-du ilâni^{pl}
30. apil Adad-nirari ša-ak-ni ^dBêl šangû Aš-šur 31. apil
Arik- dên-ilu ša-ak-ni ^dBêl šangû Aš-šur-ma 32. e-nu-
ma E-ḫar-sag-kur-kur-ra 33. bît Aš-šur bêli-ia ša ^m(A)-
uš-pi-a 34. šangû Aš-šur a-bi i-na pa-na 35. e-bu-šu-ma
e-na-aḫ-ma 36. ^mE-ri-šu a-bi šangû Aš-šur epuš(uš) 37.
2 šu-ši 39 šanâti^{pl} iš-tu palê 38. ^mE-ri-še il-li-ka-ma
39. bîtu šu-u e-na-aḫ-ma 40. ^{md}Šam-ši-^dAdad šangû
Aš-šur-ma 41. e-bu-uš 9 šu-ši 40 šanâti^{pl} (Rev.) Col. IV.
1. bîtu šu-u ša ^{md}Šam-ši-^dAdad 2. šangû Aš-šur e-bu-
šu-ma še-bu-ta 3. u li-be-ru-ta il-li-ku 4. iššatu ana
kir-bi-šu im-ḫut bît e-šir- 5. ta-šu ḫál ki-sa-a-gi par-
akkâni^{pl} ni-me-di 6. šu-pa-ti mi-im-ma makkuru bît
Aš-šur 7. bêli-ia i-na iššati lu-u iḫ-mi 8. i-na ûme(me)-
šu-ma bîtu ša-a-tu a-na 9. si-ḫi-ir-ti-šu u-ni-ki-ir 10.
ḫa-ḫar-šu u-še-en-šik dan-na-su 11. ak-šud iš-di-šu i-na
abnu dan-ni 12. ki-ma ki-ṣir šadî(i) u-šar-ši-id 13.
bîtu el-la ki-iṣ-ša ša-ḫa-a parakku ṣi-ra 14. ad-ma-na
ra-šub-ba ša el maḫ-ri-i 15. ḫud-me-šu šu-tu-ru na-ak-
liš ib-šu 16. a-na ta-na-da-ti šu-ṣu-u 17. a-na si-mat
ilûti-šu rabîti šar-ku 18. a-na be-lu-ti-šu rabiš(iš) šu-
lu-ku 19. a-na-aḫ-ma ana Aš-šur bêli-ia e-bu-uš 20.
a-na uš-še-šu abnu kaspu ḫurâṣu parzillu 21. eru anaku

L. 19. Šiddi naskuti, cf. No. 16, Obv. 11.

Col. IV. 4-5. The meaning of kal ki-sa-a-gi is not clear. Some part of the temple is probably meant.

L. 13. After ella var. adds ia-a-riš(?)

Ll. 20 f. This passage as well as that in the inscription of Shamshi-Adad

land of Kutmuhi, remote regions, 20. distant and inaccessible plains, 21-22. the bodies of their wide spreading hosts I poured out like water. 23. With the corpses of their warriors 24. I filled the wide plain. 25. His booty, his cattle, his family, 26. and his property I carried away to my city Ashur. 27. Shepherd, duly appointed, whose name Anu and Bel 28. named for the days to come, am I; 29. of an ancient line (everlasting seed), who knows the gods; 30. son of Adad-nirari, prefect of Bel, priest of Ashur; 31. son of Arik-den-ilu, prefect of Bel, priest of Ashur. 32. When Eharsagkurkurra, 33. the temple of my lord Ashur, which Ushpia, 34. priest of Ashur, my ancestor, 35. had built aforetime, had fallen into ruins, 36. then my ancestor Erishu, priest of Ashur, restored it. 37. One hundred and fifty-nine (159) years passed after the reign 38. of Erishu and 39. that temple (again) fell into ruins. 40. Then Shamshi-Adad, priest of Ashur, 41. restored it. Five hundred and eighty (580) years elapsed, (Rev.) Col. IV. 1. and that temple which Shamshi-Adad 2. priest of Ashur had restored, 3. became old and weak, 4. fire broke out in it, its sanctuary, 5. every (?) *kisâgi*, the shrines, 6. glorious abodes, all the property of the temple of Ashur 7. my lord were burned with fire. 8. At that time I tore down that temple 9. in its totality. 10. I cleared away the earth from it, went down to its foundation, 11. built its foundation-walls of mighty stones 12. like the foundation of the mountains. 13. An illustrious temple, a lofty dwelling-place, a noble shrine, 14. a magnificent abode, whose front was higher 15. than (that of the) earlier (shrine), cunningly constructed, 16. manifesting glory, 17. befitting the dignity of his exalted divinity, 18. worthy of his sovereignty, 19. I restored with great care (literally: I went to much trouble and restored). 20. Over against its foundations, (tablets of) stone, silver, gold, iron, 21. bronze, lead, (together with) herbs, in herbs I placed.

III (No. 5, Obv. Col. I, 20—Col. II, 2), are to be understood in the light of the later building inscriptions, which are in turn rendered more intelligible by these. The word *šilaru* is clearly the same as the well known *šallaru*, that part of the mud-brick wall which rests immediately upon the stone foundation (*uššu*). The verb *ašel*, *ašil* (from *שאל*?) occurs only in this and the Shamshi-Adad passage, but must probably be assigned a meaning similar to that of *בלל* and *בדח*. At the same time it seems to follow from its parallel use with *nadû* (*lu addi*) that a meaning “to put, place” would

riḳḳê^{p1} i-na riḳḳê^{p1} 22. lu ad-di i-na šamni šaman ṭābu
 šikar e-ri-ni 23. dišpu (ṭābu) u ḥimētu še-la-ar-šu 24.
 lu a-še-el iš-tu uš-še-šu 25. a-di gab-dib-bi-šu e-bu-uš
 26. na-ri-ia aš-ku-un ta-ši-la-su 27. e-bu-uš e-nu-ma
 Aš-šur bêlu ana bîti 28. ša-a-tu i-ba-u-ma parakki-šu
 ši-ra 29. ḥa-diš i-ra-mu-u ib-še-ti ni-mur-ti 30. bîtu
 ša-a-tu li-mur-ma ṣab-da-a (Upper Edge) 31. un-ni-ni-ia
 lil-ḳi taš-li-ti 32. liš-me ši-mat šu-lum šangûti-ia zêr
 šangûti(ti)-ia 33. nu-uk palê^{p1}-ia i-na pî-šu kabti 34.
 a-na ûm(um) za-a-a-ti rabiš(iš) li-taš-kar 35. na-ri-e
 ša šarrâni^{p1} maḥ-ru-ti šamna 36. ab-šu-uš ni-ḳa-a aḳ-ḳi
 ana aš-ri-šu-nu 37. u-tir ana ar-kat ûmê^{p1} rubû arku-u
 38. e-nu-ma bîtu šu-u u-šal-ba-ru-ma (Left Edge) 1. e-na-
 ḥu ib-še-it ḳur-di-ia lu-ul-ta-me ta-na-ti li-u-ti-ia li-
 taš- 2. ka-ar ki-ma ana-ku-ma na-ri-e ša rubê^{p1} maḥ-
 ru-ti ana aš-ri-šu-nu u-tir-ru 3. na-ri-ia šamna li-ip-
 šu-uš ni-ḳa-a liḳ-ḳi ana aš-ri-šu-nu lu-tir 4. ^dAš-šur u
^dBêlit bîti ik-ri-be i-še-mu-u ša na-ri-ia u-na-ka-ru
 5. šu-me šaṭ-ra u-šam-sa-ku Aš-šur ilu ši-ru a-ši-ib
 E-ḥar-sag-kur-kur-ra 6. Igigi ša šamê ^dA-nu-na-ku ša
 irṣitim i-na napḥar-šu-nu iz-zi-iš li-ki-el-mu-šu-ma
 7. ir-ri-ta ma-ru-ul-ta ag-giš li-ru-ru-uš šuma-šu zêra-
 šu i-na mâti lu-ḥal-li-ḳu 8. šarru bêl li-mu-ti-šu kussa-
 šu li-ṭi-ir ana ni-it-li êni-šu mât-su liš-pur

Right Edge. ^{arab} Ša-sa-ra-ti li-mu ^mMu-šal-lim Aš-
 šur

fit better than "überschütten, übergiessen" (Delitzsch). The Shalmaneser passage distinguishes between the two parts of the ceremony of laying a foundation. (1) Upon (over against) the stone sub-structure (uššêšu) of the temple were laid (lu addi) in herbs, stone, silver, gold, iron, bronze, lead, and herbs. (2) In oil, choice oil, or erini-wine, honey, and butter were laid (ašel) its mud-walls (šelaru). The Shamshi-Adad passage (igarâte bîti ina kaspu ḥurâsu ^{aban}uknû ^{aban}sându šaman erini šaman rêšti dišpu u ḥimētu šilaram ašil, the walls of the temple,—in silver, gold, lapislazuli, sandu-stone, erini-oil, choice oil, honey and butter I laid the mud-wall) is to be regarded as an abbreviated account of the ceremony.

22. In oil, choice oil, erini, wine, 23. honey (?) and butter 24. I laid its walls. From its foundation 25. to its roof I rebuilt it. 26. I set up my memorial tablet, 27. I established its feasts. When the lord Ashur enters that temple, 28. and makes his joyful abode in its noble shrine, 29. may he look upon the splendid work(s) 30. (which I performed upon) that temple, 31. may he hear my prayers, 32. listen to my supplications, the decree for the peace of my priesthood, for my posterity in the priesthood, 33. for length of reign, by his exalted command, 34. for the days to come, may he mightily decree. 35. The memorial tablets of former kings I anointed with oil, 36. poured libations upon them, and to their places 37. returned them. In the days to come, may some future prince, 38. when this temple shall have become old and (Left Edge) 1. shall have fallen to ruins, may he recall the pious deeds of my hands (strength), the glory of my prowess may he proclaim. 2. As I returned the memorial tablets of former princes to their places, 3. so may he anoint my stela with oil, pour libations upon it and return it to its place. 4. Ashur and the Lady of the temple will hear his prayers. Whoever disturbs my stela 5. and blots out the writing of my name, may Ashur the mighty god who dwells in Eharsagkurkurra, 6. the Igigi of heaven and the Anunaki of earth, all of them, look with disfavor upon him and 7. with a terrible curse may they curse him in their anger. His name and seed may they destroy from the land. 8. May some hostile king seize his throne and give his land to whom he pleases (to the glance of his eye, i.e., to the one on whom his eye happens to look).

Right Edge. Month of Sha-sarati, limu of Mushallim-Ashur.

From the Gold-Ins., 32f, Silver-Ins., 40f, and others of Sargon's inscriptions we see that the silver, gold, etc., were in the form of tablets on which the king wrote his name (ina duppi ħurāši kaspi eri, etc., nibit šūmia ašturma ina uššēšu ukīn), that is, they were the well-known musarê (see Lyon, *Keilschrifttext Sargons*).

L. 23. First sign TA-ĦI, var. TA-ĦI-GA,

Left Edge 2. After maḥ-ri-ti, var. adds šamna ab-šu-[šu] ni-ka-a aḳ-ku, I anointed with oil and poured out libations upon them.

L. 7. Marulta, var. ma-ru-uš-ta.

No. 15 (KAA, 14)

Obv. 1. [^dŠu]lmânu-ašaridu šaknu ^dBêl 2. šangû Aššur
 apil ^dAdad-nirari 3. šaknu ^dBêl šangû Aššur 4. apil
 Arik-den-ilu šaknu ^dBêl 5. šangû Aššur-ma e-nu-ma 6.
 E-ḥar-sag-kur-kur-ra bît Aššur 7. bêli-ia ša iš-tu ul-
 la-a 8. šarrâni^{pl} ab-bu-ia 9. e-bu-šu-ma še-bu-ta 10.
 u la-be-ru-ta il-li-ku 11. bîtu šu-u i-na ḫi-mi-it 12. gi-ra
 lu-uš-ri-pi-it 13. i-na ûme(me)-šu-ma bît Aššur bêli-ia
 14. a-na si-ḫir-ti-šu u-ni-kir 15. ḫa-ḫar-šu u-šam-šik
 16. dan-na-su ak-šud 17. uš-še-šu i-na abni dan-ni 18.
 ki-ma ki-šir šadî(i) 19. lu-u-šar-ši-id bît Aššur 20.
 bêli-ia el maḥ-ri-i 21. ut-te-ir lu-u-šar-be 22. na-ma-ri
 ša bâb ^dLamassê (AN-KAL-KAL) 23. u na-ma-ri-ma ša iš-tu
 24. muš-la-li a-na (ki)kisallu 25. ^dNUN-NAM-NIR i-na e-ra-bi
 (Rev.) 1. 2 na-ma-ri an-nu-ti 2. ša i-na maḥ-ri-i la ib-šu
 3. ki-ma a-ḫaz-ti-ma lu e-bu-uš 4. (ki)kisallu ^dNUN-NAM-NIR
 5. el maḥ-ri-i ma-diš 6. lu-u-šar-be bît Aššur 7. bêli-
 ia a-na si-ḫir-ti-šu 8. iš-tu uš-še-šu a-di 9. gab-dib-
 bi-šu e-bu-uš 10. ilâni^{pl} a-ši-bu-ut 11. ekurri bêli-ia
 12. i-na kir-be-šu u-kin 13. u na-ri-ia aš-ku-un 14. rubû
 arkû šu-me šaṭ-ra 15. a-na aš-ri-šu lu-te-ir 16. ^dAššur
 ik-ri-be-šu 17. i-še-me mu-ni-kir 18. ši-it-ri-ia u šu-
 me-ia 19. ^dAššur bêlu šarrûsu(su) 20. lis-kip šuma-šu
 zêra-šu 21. i-na mâti lu-ḫal-lik.

arab Ša-ki-na-te li-mu nâdin-šumê^{pl}.

Obv. 11-12. Ina ḫimîṭ gira lu ušripit; ḫimîṭ, from ḫamû, conflagration. Cf. Esarhaddon text (KAA, 51, Col. II, 26), ina ḫi-mi-it ^dGIŠ-BAR uš-ri[-pit]

L. 22. Namari; the context requires some such meaning as pylon. The word occurs a number of times in the later inscriptions as namiru, or nameru. Ashur-resh-ishi (King, *Annals*, 17f.) mentions the namiru in connection with his restoration of some temple which Shalmaneser had repaired, but the context is too fragmentary to allow a translation (l. 10). In another inscription (King, *op. cit.*, 23f.), unfortunately also in poor condition, he mentions the "namiru of the Gates of the Lion's Head . . .

No. 15

Obv. 1. Shalmaneser, prefect of Bel, 2. priest of Ashur, son of Adad-nirari, 3. prefect of Bel, priest of Ashur, 4. son of Arikden-ilu, prefect of Bel, 5. priest of Ashur. When 6. Eharsagkurkurra, the temple of Ashur, 7. my lord, which, in the days of old, 8. my royal ancestors 9. had built, became old 10. and decayed, 11-12. and that temple had been destroyed in a conflagration by fire; 13. at that time, the temple of my lord Ashur 14. in its totality, I tore down, 15. cleared away the ground from it, 16. went down to its foundation, 17. its foundation with large stones, 18. like the foundation of the mountains, 19. I firmly built. The temple of my lord Ashur 20-21. I made larger than it had been before. 22. The namari of the Gate of the Lamasse, 23. and the namari which extends from 24. the mushlala to the court 25. of En-lil, in — (Rev.) 1. Those two namari 2. (the like of?) which had not existed before, 3. according to plan I built. 4. The court of En-lil, 5-6. I made much larger than it had been before. The temple of 7. my lord Ashur, totally, from 8. its foundation to 9. its roof I rebuilt. 10. The gods who dwell in the 11. temple of my lord 12. I established therein. 13. My memorial stela I set up. 14. May some future prince return my inscription 15. to its place, 16. and Ashur will hear 17. his prayers. But the man who blots out 18. my inscription and name, 19. may Ashur the lord overthrow 20. his kingdom, his name and seed 21. destroy from the land.

Month of Sha-kinate, year of —nadin-shume

the great court of the temple of . . .” which he restored (enuma namiru ša abullâte(te) ša ƙaƙƙad nêši . . . (ki)kisallu širu ša bit . . . 1, 3f.). Shamshi-Adad speaks of bit na-me-ru which some former prince had built (King, *op. cit.*, 150f.), but here too the context is practically gone. The latter reading recalls the abusâte and bit abusâte of the inscription of Adad-nirari (No. 12, above), to which a similar meaning has been assigned.

L. 24. Kisallu; written KI-KISAL, instead of the usual KISAL = kisallu (S^b 231). Cf. KI-KU = šubtu.

L. 25. NUN-NAM-NIR, “lord of sovereignty” = Enlil; CT, XXIV, 5, 43.

No. 16 (*KAA*, 15)

Obv. 1. ^[d]Šulmânu-ašaridu ša-ak-ni ^d[Bêl šangû Aššur]
 2. [šarru] dan-nu šar kiš-šat nîšê^{pl} 3. — tu-ul ab-ra-ti
 pa-ki-id ekurri 4. -id ilu ša-ki-i ^dNUN-NAM-NIR 5. [ka]-
 mu-u tar-gi-gi la pa-du-u 6. [u-]šum-gal ka-ab-li
 7. -ri-ir za-a-a-ri ka-šu-uš la-ma-gi-ri 8. mu-la-ak-
 ku aš-ṭu-ti 9. da-iš muš-tar-[ḫi] mu-ša-ak-ni-šu 10.
 na-ga-ab ḫur-ša-ni 11. ša a-na ši-id-di na-aš-ku-ti
 12. ra-ap-ša um-ma-an Ḳu-ti-i 13. u-na-i-lu ki-i šu-u-
 be 14. ka-ši-id Lu-ul-lu-bi-i u Šu-ba-ri-i 15. ša-li-il
 gi-ru-u za-ma-[ni] 16. e-li-iš u ša-ap-li-iš 17. mâr
^dAdad-nirari ša-ak-ni ^dBêl šangû Aššur 18. mâr Arik-
 den-ilu ša-ak-ni ^dBêl šangû Aššur-ma 19. e-nu-ma
 i-na E-ḫar-sag-kur-kur-ra 20. bît ^dAššur be-li-ia 21.
 [i]-na bâb el-lu-ṭi ša ^dlamassê (AN-KAL-KAL) 22. na-ma-
 ri ša-ḫu-ti lu e-bu-uš 23. [a-na] ri-ib siparri me-li-e
 rabûti^{pl} 24. [lu]-u u-še-iz-zi-iz 25. ⁱṣuḫitte^{pl} ni-ib-ḫi
 šu-ri-ni 26. u ⁱṣudalâti^{pl} siparri lu-u u-kin 27. i-na
 umi(mi)-šu-ma bît ḫi-bur-ni la-bi-ra 28. [ša] šarrâni^{pl}
 ab-ba-u-[ia] (Rev.) 1. [i-na] pa-na e-bu-[šu] 2. . . a-na
 šu-tu-ri tar-pa-ša a-na . . 3. [bît] ḫi-bur-ni ša-tu-nu
 ak- . . . 4. [nap]ḫar-šu-nu u-ni-ki-ir 5. 16 (?) i-na 1
 ammatu tar-pa-ša u-ra-ab-bi 6. [x] libittu dûri-šu be-
 ta-na-a 2 libittu dûri-šu ki-da-na-a 7. [u]-ki-be-ir

L. 5. Ḳamû; restoration conjectural. Cf. ḫa-am za-a-a-ri, No. 14, Col. I, 11.

L. 9. Muštarḫi; ḫi restored after notes and corrections, p. 76 of *KAA*.

L. 11. Na-aš-ku-ti, cf. šiddi naskuti, No. 14, Col. III, 19. From a root nasâku or našâku, to be remote? [See *ZA*, XXV, 385.]

L. 13. Šûbe; last syllable restored. Cf. Cyl. Inscription of Tiglath-pileser (King, *Annals*, 40), Col. II, 20, Kummuhima kima šûbe lušnail, and Col. V, 4-5, šâbe . . . kima šûbe ušnail.

L. 14. Lulubî, instead of the usual Lulumî. This shows that the Lulumi of the later Assyrian texts and the Lulubi of the time of Sargon and Naram-Sin are the same. So the Ḳuti and Gutium are to be connected. See n. 35, p. 162, above.

No. 16

Obv. 1. Shalmaneser, prefect of Bel, priest of Ashur, 2. the mighty king, king of all peoples, 3. . . . peoples, who cares for the temple 4. . . of the exalted god En-lil. 5. Who burns the foe, who is unsparing. 6. Lord of the battle; 7. . . . the enemy, harsh toward the unfaithful, 8. who crushes the foe, 9. tramples on the mighty, subjugates all 10. mountain districts. 11. Who throws himself against the remote districts 12. of the wide spreading Kuti 13. like a 14. Who conquers the Lulubi and Shubari, 15. who plunders the evil foe, 16. north and south. 17. Son of Adad-nirari, prefect of Bel, priest of Ashur, 18. son of Arik-den-ilu, prefect of Bel, priest of Ashur. 19. When in Eharsagkurkurra, 20. the temple of my lord Ashur, 21. in (?) the Gate of the splendid (?) Lamasse, 22. the large namari I built, 23. on a base (?) of copper, large turrets (?) 24. I placed; 25. cornice, moulding, columns (doorposts), 26. and doors of copper I set up. 27. At that time the old Hiburni-houses 28. which my royal ancestors (Rev.) 1. had built in the days gone by, 2. . . to increase the width to (?) . . . 3. those Hiburni I burned (?), 4. in their totality I tore them down, 5. sixteen (?) cubits I increased the width (?), 6. (with x layers of) burnt brick, its wall, on the interior (?), with two layers of burnt brick its wall on the

L. 15. *Zamani*; last syllable restored after *KAA*, p. 76.

L. 21. *Ina(?) bâbu el-lu-ti ša ʿlamassê (AN-KAL-KAL)*; cf No. 14, Obv. 22, *namari ša bâb ʿlamassê (AN-KAL-KAL)*. Does the adjective *ellûti* go with the *lamassê*?

L. 23. The first two signs are almost gone but the traces point to *a-na*. *Mêlû* is used together with *rêšû* in V R, 65, 22*a*, *ina lâ adannišu ša bîti šuati rêšâšu ikdudû uttabbika/u mîlâšu*, "before its time the pinnacles of that temple gave way and its *mîlâ* fell down." Delitzsch translates *mîlâ*, "walls." This meaning would hardly fit our context, which seems to call for a meaning similar to that of *rêšû*.

L. 27. What the *bît-hiburni* were cannot be determined from the context. Here the word is used in the singular (*labira*), while in the following lines the plural pronouns are used.

Rev. 7. *Erinakki(?)*. If this is the correct reading, cf. *urnakku*, which, according to V R, 29, 41*e*, *f*, forms a class with *bitum* and *zigguratum* (Delitzsch, *HWB*, 136).

e-[ri]-na-ak-ki e-bu-uš 8. ħi-bur-ni u ra-da-ti a-na
 aš-ri-šu-nu u-te-ir 9. el [ša] pa-na u-te-ir iš-tu uš-še-
 šu-nu 10. a-di gab-dib-bi-šu-nu e-bu-uš 11. u-[ša]-ak-
 lil u na-ri-ia aš-ku-un 12. na-ri-e ša ab-be-ia šamna
 ap-š[u-uš] 13. . . . ki-it-ti abnu kaspu u ħurâšu . . 14.
 [a-na] aš-ri-šu-nu u-te-ir-šu-nu-[ti-ma] 15. a-na ar-kat
 ûmê^{pl} rubû a-ar-k[u-u] 16. [e-nu]-ma ši-ib-ru šu-u u-
 šal-[bi-ru] 17. e-na-ħu an-ħu-su-nu lu-di-[iš] 18. [ki-
 ma] a-na-ku-ma na-ri-e [šarrâni^{pl} ab-be-ia] 19. . . .
 na-ki-ru a-na aš-ri-šu-nu u-te-ru 20. [na-ri]-ia a-na
 aš-ri-šu-nu lu-te-ir 21. ^[d]Aššur ik-ri-be-šu i-še-me 22.
 [mu-ni-kir] ši-iṭ-ri-ia u šu-me-ia 23. ^[d]Aššur be-li
 šarru-su lis-kip 24. [šûma-šu] zêra-šu i-na mâti lu-
 ħal-lik 25. [šarru bêl] li-mu-[ti]-šu kussa-šu 26. [li-ṭi]-ir
 a-na ni-it-li ênê^{pl}-šu 27. [mât-su] liš-pur

Upper Edge [arab^hŠa] sa-ra-te li-mu

^{md}Aššur-

TUKULTI-NINIB I

No. 17 (KAA, 16)

1. ^mTukulti-^dNin-ib šar kiššati šar ^{mat}Aš-šur 2. šarru
 dan-nu šar kib-rat irbitti ni-šit Aš-šur 3. šangû Aš-
 šur šarru ša ib-še-tu-šu 4. eli ilâni^{pl} ša šamê iršitim
 i-ṭi-ba-ma 5. kib-be-tu pu-ka-ad irbitti 6. a-na GIŠ-
 KIN-šu iš-ru-ķu 7. i-na kib-ra-ti ul-te-li-ṭu-ma 8. kul-
 la-at la ma-gi-ri-šu ka-su 9. ik-šu-du ša-bit mâtâti
 nakrê^{pl} mu-ri-piš 10. me-iṣ-ri šarru dan-nu na-mad ilâni^{pl}
 rabûti^{pl} 11. zêr be-lu-ti ša iš-tu ul-la-a 12. šangûsu-
 nu i-na ekurri u ša-pi-ru-su-nu 13. i-na kiš-šat nišê^{pl}
^dBêlu 14. u-šar-bu-u a-na-ku 15. [apil ^d]Šulmânu-ašaridu
 šar kiššati šar ^{mat}Aš-šur 16. [apil ^dAdad]-nirari šar
 kiššati šar ^{mat}Aš-šur-ma 17. e-nu-ma iš-tu Tar-ši-na-a
 šadî(i) 18. la-aš-ķi be-ri-it ^{alu}Ša-si-la 19. ^{alu}Bar-pa-niš
 e-bi-ir-ti ^{nar}uZa-bi 20. šu-pa-li-i iš-tu ^{mat}Su-ku-uš^{ki}
 21. u ^{mat}La-la-ar id-di 22. ^{mat}Ķu-ti-i rapalti(ti)
 ma-ni 23. ^{mat}El-ħu-ni-a a-di 24.
^{mat}Me-iḫ-ri ^{mat}Ka- 25. ^{mat}Bu-uš-še
 -me 26. u si-ħi-ir-ti -ia-ri 27. ^{mat}Il-zi ^{mat}

exterior (as protection) 7. I enclosed, and built. 8. Hiburni and radati I restored to their places, 9. made them larger than they were before, from their foundation 10. to their tops I rebuilt them 11. completely, and set up my memorial stela. 12. The stelae of my ancestors I anointed with oil, 13. tablets of stone, silver and gold. . . . 14. to their places I restored them. 15. In the days to come, may some future prince, 16. when that work shall have become old and 17. weak, restore its ruins, 18. and, as I restored the stelae of my ancestors 19-20. to their places, may he restore my stelae to their places. 21. Ashur will hear his prayers, etc.

L. 8. The meaning of radati cannot be inferred from the context.

TUKULTI-NINIB I (*ca.* 1260 B.C.)

No. 17

Obv. 1. Tukulti-Ninib, king of the universe, king of Assyria, 2. the mighty king, king of the four quarters of the world, favorite of Ashur, 3. priest of Ashur, the king whose pious works 4. are well pleasing to the gods of heaven and earth, and 5. the command to rule the four quarters of the earth 6. to his scepter (?) they gave, 7. and in all regions they made it powerful, 8. and all those who refused him submission they conquered through his hand. 10. (The king) who seizes the lands of all enemies, who extends his border(s); the mighty king, favorite of the great gods, 11. of royal lineage, whose (pl.) priesthood in the temple 12. and rule 13. over all peoples, Bel made great, am I. 15. The son of Shalmaneser, king of the universe, king of Assyria, 16. son of Adad-nirari, king of the universe, king of Assyria. 17. When, from Tarsina, an inaccessible mountain 18. between the city of Shasila 19. the city of Barpanish on the other side of the lower Zab, 20. from the lands of Sukus 21. and Lalar . . . 22. the land of the wide spreading Kuti the 23. Elhunია, up to 24. the lands of Miḥri Ka- . . . 25. Bushe 26. and all of the (Kashiari region?) 27. The lands of Ilzi, 28. Alara zi 29. Bu zi 30. all of the wide spreading

(Rev.) 1-2. (broken) 3. to . . . 4. all I established. 5. Prince . . shepherd 6. their scepter (?) . . their wall

..... 28. ^{mat}A-la-ra -zi 29. u
^{mat}Bu- -zi 30. kul-la-at rapalti(ti)
 31. a-di pa(?) ka .an 32.
 (Rev.) 1. bu 2.
^dAš-šur 3. a-na 4. kul-la-at aš-
 ku-un 5. rubû ma rêu? 6. GIŠ-KIN-su-nu
 dûru-šu-nu 7. a-na-ku i-na ûme?
 ka-at 8. ekallim-ia i-na si-ħir-ti 9. si-kur-ra-ti ša
 ia 10. ھا-ھا-ri za-e .. 11. ekalla
 šu-ba-aṭ šarrûti(ti)-ia 12. ekalla ħi-da-ti-ia 13. e-bu-
 uš u na-ri-ia 14. aš-ku-un a-na ar-kat ûmê(me)^{pl}
 15. ru-bu-u ar-ku-u 16. [an-hu]-sa lu-di-iš 17. [na-ri]-ia
 šamna lip-šu-uš 18. [ni]-ھا-a li-ħi 19. [a-na] aš-ri-
 šu-nu lu-te-ir 20. ^dAš-šur u ^dAdad 21. [i]k-ri-be-šu
 i-še-mu-u

arḫu X

li-mu

^mX

No. 18 (KAA, 17)

1. ^mTukulti-^dNin-ib šar kiššati šarru dan-nu 2. šar
^{mat}^dAš-šur ka-šid mul-tar-ħi u(?) 3. la ma-gi-ri za-e-
 ru-ut ^dAš-šur 4. ni-ir ^{mat}U-ķu-ma-ni-i 5. u Kur-ħi-i
 la ka-ni-ši pu-ħur 6. tar-gi-gi da-iš ^{mat}Kut-mu-ħi
 7. um-ma-na-at ھا-ti-i pu-šuk 8. ħur-ša-ni mu-si-pi-
 iħ el-li- 9. ^{mat}Šu-ba-ri-i a-di pa-at gim-ri- 10. sa-pi-
 in ^{mat}Al-zi ^{mat}Pu-ru-kus-[si] 11. si- la kan-ši rubû
 ki-nu 12. ša i-na tukulti ^dAš-šur u ilâni^{pl} 13. rabûti^{pl}
 i-na kib-rat arbitti it-tal-la-ku-ma 14. mu-ni-ħa [u] mu-
 a-ri-a la i-šu-u 15. ša-bit me-iš-rat nakrê^{pl} e-liš 16. u
 šap-liš šarru dan-nu li-u kabli 17. ša kul-la-at mâtâtî
 Na-i-ri i-pi-lu-ma 18. [xviii or xxxvi šârrâni]^{pl} ša-pi-ri-
 šu-nu ana šêpê-[šu] 19. u-še-ik-ni-šu ^{mat}A-za-al-zi
^{mat}Še(?) -par-di-i 20. a-na mi-šir mâti-šu iš-ku-nu 21.
 [tab-du] ^{mat}Šu-me-ri u Ak-ka-di-i 22. il-[tak]-ka-nu-ma
^{mat} -ra 23. u- -u 24. šarru -du
 25. apil ^dŠulmânu-ašaridu šarru ^{mat}Aš-šur 26. apil
 Adad-nirari šarru ^{mat}^dAš-šur-ma (Rev.) 1. e-nu-ma
 bîtâtî^{col} ekallim-ia 2. ša ali-ia ^dAš-šur 3. ša

7. I in . . 8. my palace in its totality, 9. the towers of . . . 10. the ground . . 11. the palace, my royal abode, 12. the palace in which I take delight, 13. I built and set up 14. my memorial stela. In the days to come 15. may some future prince 16. restore its ruins, 17. anoint my stela with oil, 18. pour out libations upon it, 19. return it to its place, 20. and Ashur and Adad will hear his 21. prayers. (Name of month and limu not given)

Obv. 6. GIŠ-KIN, probably to be read ḫaṭṭu, hardly gišgin(nu). Cf. Monolith of Ashur-nasirpal (King, *Annals*, 249), Col. V, 52.

L. 26. The Kashiari region is probably meant.

Rev. 12. Ḫidatia, reading based on var., see KAA, p. 76.

No. 18

Obv. 1. Tukulti-Ninib, king of the universe, the mighty king, 2. king of Assyria, conqueror of the mighty, 3. faithless enemies of Ashur, 4. destroyer of the lands of the Ukumani 5. and Kurti, who were unsubmissive and all of them evil people; 6. who tramples down the land of Kutmuhi, 7. the armies of the Kutu (in their) mountain valleys; who overthrows the forces of the 9. land of Shubari in its totality, 10. who overturns the lands of Alzi and Purukussi, 11. all of whom were unsubmissive. The duly appointed prince, 12. who, under the protection of Ashur and the great gods 13. marches to the four corners of the earth. 14. There is none who can fight him to a standstill or take him captive. 15. Who seizes the enemies' country, north and south; 16. the great king, mighty in battle. 17. Who brought under his sway all of the lands of the Nairi, and 18. brought, . . kings, who ruled over them, in submission to his feet. 19. Who added the lands of Azalzi and Shepardi 20. to the territory of his country. 21-22. Who accomplished the overthrow of the lands of Sumer and Akkad. The land of . . 23. and . . 24. king . . 25. The son of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, 26. son of Adad-nirari, king of Assyria.

(Rev.) 1. When the buildings of my palace 2. . . . in my city Ashur, 3. . . . the great towers 4. of the temple (?) of Ashur, my lord, which at a former time, 5. Shalmaneser, prefect of Bel, priest of Ashur, 6. my father, had built, fell to ruins, 7. I cleared away its ruins, 8. dug down to its foundation, restored it

si-kur-ra-te 4. rabâte ^dAš-šur bêli-ia ša ina pa-na
 5. ^{md}[Šulma]-nu-ašaridu šakni ^dBêl šangû Aš-šur 6. a-bi
 e-bu-šu e-na-aḥ-ma 7. an-[ḥu]-su u-ni-kir dan-na-su
 8. ak-šud iš-tu uš-še-šu 9. a-di gab-dib-bi-šu u-še-ik-lil
 10. u na-ri-ia aš-kun rubû arkû 11. an-ḥu-su lu-diš
 šûme šaṭ-ra ana aš-ri-šu 12. lu-te-ir ^dAš-šur ik-ri-be-
 šu 13. i-še-im-me mu-ni-kir šiṭ-ri-ia u šûmi-ia ^dAš-šur
 15. bêlu šarru-su lis-kip šum-šu 16. i-na mâti lu-ḥal-lik
 Li-mu ^mI-na-^dAš-šur-mu(?) -be

No. 19 (KAA, 18)

1. ^dTukulti-^dNi-nib šar kiššati šarru dan-nu šar
^{mat}Aššur 2. šar kib-rat arba-i ^dŠam-šu kiš-šat nišê^p
 apil ^dŠulmânu-ašaridu 3. šar ^{mat}Aššur apil ^dAdad-
 nirari šar kiššati (šar) ^{mat}^dA-šur-ma e-nu-ma dûru ali-
 ia ^dA-šur 4. maḥ-ru-u ša i-na pa-na šarrâni^p a-lik
 pa-ni-ia e-bu-šu e-na-aḥ-ma 5. la-be-ru-ta il-lik an-
 ḥu-su u-ni-kir dûru ša-a-tu ud-di-iš 6. a-na aš-ri-šu
 u-tir ḥi-ri-ša rabâ(a) ša i-na pa-na šarrâni^p a-lik pa-
 ni-ia la-a e-bu-šu 7. ḥi-ri-ša rabâ(a) a-na li-me-it dûri
 lu aḥ-ri dan-na-su ki-šir šadî(i) i-na aḫḫullât(ŠA-
 GUL-MEŠ-at) eri lu-pi-ši-id 8. 20 mu-ša-ri a-na šu-
 pa-lu mê^p na-ak-be lu ak-šud u i-na dûri ša-a-tu
 ti-me-ni-ia aš-ku-un rubû(u) arkû(u) 9. an-ḥu-su lu-
 di-iš ti-me-ni-ia a-na aš-ri-šu lu-tir ^dA-šur ik-ri-be-šu
 i-še-im-me mu-ni-kir 10. šiṭ-ri-ia u šumi-ia ^dA-šur bêlu
 šarru-su lis-kip šuma-šu u zêra ina mâti lu-ḥal-lik

No. 20 (KAA, 19)

1. . . ^dAššur bêli- . . 2. . . a-bu ilâni^p . . 3. . . ^{md}Tukulti-
^dNin-ib . . 4. . . šakni ^dBêl šangû ^dAššur . . 5. . . apil
^dŠulmânu-ašaridu šakni ^dBêl ša[ngû ^dAššur] . . 6. . .
 [Adad]-nirari šakni ^dBêl šangû ^dAššur . . 7. . . ilu . . a-
 an mâtâtî . . 8. . . mâtâtî a-aḥ tâmtim[e-li-ni-ti] 9. . .
 ma -a' . . 10. . . i-na šu-mur ta-ḥa-zi 11. . . a-ba-a'kul-
 la-at . . 12. . . Na-i-ri u mâtâtî a-aḥ 13. . . tâmtim e-li-
 ni-ti . . 14. . . ḫa-ti ik-šu-[du] . . 15. -a . . šarrâni^p -šu-
 nu a-bil . . 16. . . u . . 17. . . na-mar-šu

from its foundation 9. to its roof, 10. and set up my memorial stela therein. May a future prince 11. restore its ruins, return my inscription 12. to its place, and Ashur will hear his prayers. 13. But whoever blots out my inscription and name, may Ashur, the lord, 15. overthrow his reign, and 16. destroy his name from the land.

Limu of Ina-Ashur-

Obv. 14. Restored from duplicate, see *KAA*, 76. Muaria, II, 1, part. of 𐎶𐎵, to carry off.

L. 18. Numeral uncertain, *KAA*, 76.

L. 21. Restored from duplicate.

No. 19

1. Tukulti-Ninib, king of the universe, mighty king, king of Assyria, 2. king of the four quarters of the world, Sun of all peoples, son of Shalmaneser, 3. king of Assyria, son of Adad-nirari, king of the universe, king of Assyria. When the wall of my city Assur, 4. the old one, which the kings who preceded me had built, fell to ruins and became old, 5. I cleared away its ruins, and rebuilt that wall and 6. restored it to its place. A great moat, such as (lit. which) none of the kings who preceded me had dug, 7. I dug around the whole wall, its foundation constructed of stone from the mountains, I widened with bronze axes (picks). 8. Twenty inscriptions I found at the depth of the water level and in that wall I set up my foundation-cylinder. May some future prince 9-10. repair its ruins, return my cylinder to its place, and Ashur will hear his prayers. But whoever blots out the record of my name, may the lord Ashur overthrow his reign and destroy his name and seed from the land.

Ll. 7-8. Cf. Delitzsch, *MDOG*, 22 (1904), 76.

No. 20

1. . . Ashur, (my) lord, . . . 2. . . father of the gods . . . 3. . . Tukulti-Ninib . . . 4. . . prefect of Bel, priest of Ashur . . . 5. . . son of Shalmaneser, prefect of Bel, (priest of Ashur) . . . 6. . . (son of) Adad-nirari, prefect of Bel, priest of Ashur . . . 7. . . god (Ashur) . . . lands . . . 8. . . lands on the shore of the (upper) sea . . . 9. . . 10. . . in the heat of battle . . . 11. . . all of . . . 12. . . the lands of the Nairi and the lands on the shore of 13. . . the upper sea . . . 14. . . his hand conquered . . . 15. . . their kings I brought under my sway . . . 16. . . 17. . .